DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 092 530 SP 008 121

AUTHOR	Hartford, Ellis Ford
TITLE	Highlights of Early Teacher Training in Kentucky.
INSTITUTION	Kentucky Univ., Lexington. Bureau of School Service.
PUB DATE	Jun 74
NOTE	45p.; Special address as part of the Fiftieth Anniversary Program delivered in William S. Taylor Auditorium (Lexington, Kentucky, April 15, 1974)
AVAILABLE FROM	University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky 40506 ($1.00)
JOURNAL CIT	Bureau of School Service Bulletin; v46 n4 p36-80 Jun 1974
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.75 HC-$1.85 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS	*Educational History; *Educational Theories; *Teacher Certification; *Teacher Education
IDENTIFIERS	*Kentucky

ABSTRACT

This speech surveys the development of teacher education from the earliest concerns of the pioneers until the establishment of the University of Kentucky College of Education in 1923. In the search for a system of education, three theories influenced Kentucky leaders. They were the Lancasterian plan of organization and instruction (i.e., the monitorial school), the ideas of Pestalozzi, and the Rensselaerean method. Early means of teacher examination and certification and of preparation for the teacher examinations are discussed. Seven alternatives of preparing for the teacher examination included (a) cramming schools, (b) home study question books, (c) normal school departments of various academies and institutes, (d) the National Normal School, (e) private normal schools, (f) question-peddlers, and (g) educational journals. Teachers' institutes, one of the earlier teaching innovations, are described. Also, a discussion of efforts to establish normal schools and of some specific schools are included. Finally, the emergence of the College of Education at the University of Kentucky from the Normal School at A&M College is discussed. A 4-page bibliography is included. (PD)

ED 092530

A Half-Century of Service to Education

WILLIAM S. TAYLOR
Dean, College of Education
University of Kentucky
1923 - 1949

50TH ANNIVERSARY

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

1923 - 1973

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VOLUME XLVI JUNE 1974 NUMBER 4
BUREAU OF SCHOOL SERVICE
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION • UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

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Second-class postage paid at Lexington, Kentucky 40506. Published quarterly by the University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky. Price $1 postpaid.

PAGES 1-35 WERE

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ED 092530

HIGHLIGHTS OF EARLY TEACHER TRAINING IN KENTUCKY

ELLIS FORD HARTFORD

Special address as part of Fiftieth Anniversary Program, delivered in William S. Taylor Auditorium, April 15, 1974—Dr. Hartford retiring shortly as professor of educational history.

Introduction

The earliest concern about teachers and about their qualifications must have been felt by the pioneer parents whose children attended the "Fort Schools" after 1775. That concern was an elemental one, namely the need to find someone whose "booklarnin" was sufficient to teach the young ones the "rudiments" of the "three R's." As people were able to leave the stockades and live on their newly-cleared farms there was a need for teachers to hold subscription schools in what could be termed "neighborhood schools." Peripatetic pedagogues filled the need for some neighborhoods but the number was small and they moved frequently. As the new Commonwealth followed the example of Virginia and provided for county academies (or seminaries) it was expected that these institutions would provide an adequate supply of educated schoolmasters that would serve the needs of neighborhood groups that wanted to maintain schools for their children. That expectation was not fulfilled to any significant degree and the important problem of providing an adequate supply of qualified teachers was not solved until long after the Commonwealth had managed to establish and maintain the common school system.

There were significant developments and influences in the early decades of the new Commonwealth's history that contributed to the ideas and plans for teacher training. Among these were concepts and proposals that were not utilized until well into the next century when it became appropriate to use the term "Teacher Education."

The Search for a system of Education

Noteworthy developments within and without the Commonwealth in the early 19th century could well be described as probings for a system, method, or plan of education that would prove economical and practical. Interest in the investigating and implementing new approaches was a concomitant of the concern that educators and friends of education exhibited about the need to undertake some adequate provision for schools in the new Commonwealth. This interest was of such intensity, and the efforts to discover and adapt new systems or "plans" so pronounced, that it might almost be viewed as a search for a science that would serve the people

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and the time well—a science of education. This was the viewpoint of those who provided dedicated leadership to the State in the initial stages of establishing academies, colleges, and schools. At the political level, the concern was to find a "system" that could be adopted and would then be carried on by the school masters, and above all, would be economical and workable. This climate of opinion into which new ideas and "plans" of education were infused immediately effected leaders who were concerned about schools and educational provisions.

The evidence is clear that the notion of an early isolation of Kentuckians from what was happening in education in the older eastern states, and from the cultural importations brought by education innovators from Europe is a myth. It is evident that at least three or four currents of influence and innovation were known to outstanding Kentucky leaders early in the new century. In many instances the new theories and plans aroused enthusiasm and keen interest as Kentuckians have often been known for precipitate action. It was not surprising then to find that some felt that they were on the verge of discovering a science of education, particularly of teaching.

Three theories and plans that exerted significant influence upon Kentucky leaders were the Lancasterian plan of organization and instruction (often termed the monitorial school), the ideas concerning teaching of the great Swiss innovator, Pestalozzi, and the Rensselaerian method which was a native American development. A few facts and dates will serve to show the early arrival of this intelligence and that each was put to an early test through actual use by Kentucky school masters and officials.

The Lancasterian (or Lancastrian) plan was brought to the Eastern seaboard in the first decade by Joseph Lancaster himself; he trained masters and assistants in large monitorial schools at Philadelphia and Baltimore. Experienced masters trained in the monitorial plan were setting up their own schools in Kentucky as early as 1815. One, B. Hill, who had been trained by one of Lancaster's masters, opened a Lancastrian school in Louisville April 10, 1815, with a seven-hour daily schedule.[1] "Prentiss, the Teacher" placed an advertisement in the *Kentucky Gazette* that described his school as having introduced the Lancastrian method, particularly in the lower classes.[2] Other masters tried to launch the plan and discussion tended to emphasize the economical cost of such a school for a large number of pupils. When Louisville took steps to open its free school in 1829, Mann Butler was named principal and sent to the East to study monitorial schools in Baltimore, Philadelphia, Boston, and New York.[3] His report, printed in the *Louisville Public Advertiser*, might be considered one of the "classics" of education in the Commonwealth.[4] The free school at Louisville opened, operating on the monitorial plan. A representative from Louisville proposed that the monitorial plan be incorporated in the 1830 permissive school bill as a practical, efficient and economical plan of education. The amendment failed but the argument tended to impress many legislators even though the Louisville experiment was supplanted by a more traditional organization after a few years.

Pestalozzian theories were brought into Kentucky early by persons who had known Joseph Neef and his school near Philadelphia. Neef had been an assistant to the great Pestalozzi at Burgdorf and was induced to emigrate to America about 1808. His school attracted visitors, notably a Kentucky doctor, John Buchanan, who was inspired to open a Pestalozzian school in 1813 at Lexington. His announcement in the *Gazette* aroused interest in the principles he proposed to follow.[5] Neef himself was induced to move to Louisville and launch a Pestalozzian school which opened in the autumn of 1815.[6] Neef later participated in the school at New Harmony, Indiana, and then lived for a time at Cincinnati where he assisted Benjamin Orr Peers in the planning of the comprehensive program for his Eclectic Institute which opened in Lexington in 1830. The "Prospectus" for the Institute explained the Pestalozzian principles which would be stressed particularly in the work of the younger pupils.[7] In the science department another new "method" was to be utilized, namely, the Rensselaerean. The Prospectus of Peers' Institute and a later work clearly establish the author as an educational theorist well in advance of his colleagues and his time.

What has been known as the Rensselaerean method was introduced into Kentucky by Robert Peter who had been an instructor in the Rensselaer Institute. Peers invited this young instructor to join his Institute and head up a department to bear the name of the method. This dealt principally with the sciences, then known as natural philosophy. Its principal feature was combination of the lecture with actual laboratory work and demonstrations.[8] Another young instructor, H. H. Eaton, was brought to the Institute to continue the method and an invitation was given to teachers to visit the department to observe the instrucion. Most significant was the offer of Mr. Peers to receive five young men into the Institute who might choose to improve or prepare themselves for the business of teaching. It was further noted that should there be sufficient demand a department to provide training for a number of teachers would be added.

A third fundamental principle exemplified in the Eclectic Institute stressed the classical influence, especially for the older students. An unusually wide range of languages was offered in a department of classical and modern languages that emphasized the latter as well as the so-called "dead" ones.

Concern for the health of students was evident in the provision for exercise and open-air activities-surveying, collecting botanical specimens, and practical experiences on the farm and in the shop. The latter provision is reminiscent of the so-called Fellenberg plan.

Although the enrollment in Mr. Peers' Institute was never large (slightly over 100), the institution made its influence felt among the masters and proprietors of other select schools and upon the parents of the pupils, some of whom were persons who could exert leadership in matters relating to education. After Peers moved on to the University, an associate continued the Institute for a time.

Cumberland College, near Princeton, one of the denominational colleges founded during the 1820's, gained recognition for its utilization of the

Fellenberg plan. Classroom study and manual labor experience were combined.[9] The plan was one that would be acceptable to many political leaders and was mentioned favorably in Governor Metcalfe's message to the legislature in 1828.[10]

There were a number of other notable private schools headed by able educators in Kentucky by the end of the 1820's. In Lexington, the Lafayette Female Academy, headed by Joseph Dunham, and the Science Hill School, founded by Mrs. Julia A. Tevis at Shelbyville in 1825, were outstanding early schools for girls. Other well-recognized schools were headed by Kean O'Hara and by B. B. Sayre at Frankfort, by David Bacon near Cynthiana, and many more. One contribution of schools of this type was that of leading parents to expect capable teachers and good instruction. In this respect they tended to exert some influence upon the growing recognition among the people that qualified teachers were essential if education was to be effective.

Proposed State College of Professional Teachers

The Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers had attempted to establish an organization of teachers who would become members on the basis of sound scholarship and the approval of educators who had already been recognized as professionals. This subject had been studied and discussed and the organization was committed to the promotion of teaching as the "Fourth Profession" as it was often called by the Institute's membership. One of the meetings was held in Louisville in August 1842.[11] The most important business brought before the meeting was the draft of a bill for the organization of the teachers professing an equality with the other learned professions.[12]

The College of Teachers agreed to propose to several legislative bodies a bill that would establish by law a *profession of education*.[13] It was proposed in the bill that the educational profession would be granted all the privileges which are usually considered as constituting a "profession," such as the powers of determining the qualifications for its own members, of managing its own professional matters, of assigning a proper course of study, textbooks, and the like for those who design to enter the profession, and any other powers essential to the work of the organization. The sponsors clearly believed that there should be some means whereby dedicated and qualified teachers would be "set apart" to do their work; in their words they would be "wedded to it for life, for better or for worse." Most certainly they believed that those qualified teachers who devote themselves to education should have the power of deciding who should enter the same noble profession.

A significant feature of the proposed bill was a plan for raising the common schools to the rank of academies. This called for legislatures to set aside one-fourth of all the revenues raised for education to be distributed to those common school districts that maintained schools for advanced studies such as in academies. Teachers in the academies would be "professionals." This would stimulate districts to raise standards in enough

schools to make an academy accessible to all. The bill also proposed plans for a Normal school. The College noted that schools with this title had hitherto differed little from academies and high schools. It was proposed that those who were to engage in teaching could take a course of instruction in the schools, academies, and colleges of our country, and at the "Teachers' College" they would study the science of *teaching*. The most distinguished *practical teachers* should be the professors in this college, who should come from teaching, bringing the advantages of experience. The students would have the benefits of the experience of several teachers, each peculiarly skillful in teaching some particular branch.

It was hoped that the proposed bill would receive thorough discussion. Former plans had failed; some new ones must be tried.

The College of Teachers, holding its annual meeting in Cincinnati, unanimously sustained the action taken at the August session in Louisville concerning the bill to be proposed to establish a professional organization of teachers.[14] Support by one "Lacon" for the plan to professionalize the work of teaching was voiced in a series of six letters to the editor of the *Louisville Daily Journal* in December of 1842.[15] The importance of the teacher and the indispensable role of education in maintaining our republican institutions were stressed repeatedly. The new school systems in the several states were not fulfilling expectations because the laws respecting some were botched-up jobs written by people who knew little about education. There was no profession to look after the common school systems' business. Governor Dewitt Clinton had argued eloquently that "teaching is, or ought to be, among the learned professions," but left it to his Secretary of State to manage the schools of the state as an *ex-officio* superintendent.

Lacon's eloquent pleas were not the last words on the College of Teachers plan. The series was followed by an editorial in the same journal early in January that voiced strong support for the bill.[16] It was obvious that active members of the College of Professional Teachers in Kentucky, who numbered some leading educators, were promoting the discussion of th plan which had been proposed at Louisville in August, 1842.

The General Assembly then in session soon had its chance to consider the plan to "professionalize" teaching by legislation. Col. Tibbatts, a good friend of common schools from Campbell county, introduced a bill that embodied the principles of the draft proposed by the College of Professional Teachers.[17] As reported by the House Committee on Education on February 4, 1843, it was substantially the same as that recommended by the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Rev. George W. Brush.[18] This day was marked by the passage of a bill in the Senate that would reduce the annual salary of the Superintendent of Public Instruction from $1000 to $750, action that served as a kind of barometer for the attitude of the General Assembly toward the common school system.

Although the Tibbatts bill had no real chance to pass in either house, it provoked some discussion and received support in certain newspapers columns. Its introduction gave a testimonial to the serious purpose and

determination of the educators who comprised the College of Professional Teachers. Their efforts during this critical period may have impressed legislators and leaders who were later in the Constitutional Convention and General Assembly to stand fast to secure and defend the common school system.

The Tibbatis bill would provide for a board of "three professional teachers of good repute" to be appointed by the circuit courts for each county to serve as the initial group for a society of professional teachers which would serve as an examining board for applicants who sought to qualify as teachers in their county. Members of the society of professional teachers would have all the privileges of other learned professions. No person was to be accepted unless he had two years in teaching or had been under the care and tuition of a professional teacher for an equal length of time, or unless he could give thorough instruction in all the branches of English literature, the various mathematical and natural sciences, and their applications to agriculture and other useful arts, and unless he was of unblemished moral character.

There would be a professional organization to be called the "State College of Professional Teachers," which would be composed of one member selected from each county group and have all the privileges of a corporate body. Persons bearing the rank of professional teacher would be exempt from jury duty, military service, and labor on the public roads.

Further provisions were proposed to strengthen the profession. All literary institutions that should be chartered by the General Assembly in the future would be required to employ professional teachers. One fourth of the funds appropriated for support of schools should be reserved as a "literature fund," the income from which would be distributed to those schools that met standards for instruction in higher branches.

The State College of Teachers would have the authority and responsibility of suspending or excluding persons from the profession found guilty of immoral conduct, violation of this professional code, or who should knowingly admit unworthy members into the professional organization. The State College would also have the privilege of conferring honorary degrees upon distinguished members.

The final provision of the proposed bill would establish a plan of teacher training. The State College should annually appoint a faculty of five or six professional teachers, each distinguished as a teacher in his department. This faculty should give lectures to persons desiring to become teachers in some public or other buildings (to be designated by law) during a course of no less than five weeks during a period of general vacation of the schools. Each of the designated professors would receive a salary (not specified) to be paid out of the common school fund. The State College should have power to formulate the necessary and suitable regulations to govern the institution.

The Senate bill to organize a College of Professional Teachers was reported from the Committee on Education February 13.[19] It was understood to be the same bill as recommended by the Superintendent of Public

Instruction. The *Louisville Daily Journal* noted that this was the measure upon which the hopes of the friends of education were based.

The Tibbatts bill in the House and its companion in the Senate got talk but no action. Superintendent Brush commented mildly that should the Legislature in its wisdom see fit to organize a "Teachers' Profession" and to amend the school laws so as to evaluate some district schools to academies it would be necessary to strengthen the board of education which would have the administrative responsibility for same.[20]

The Tibbatts bill, or Brush bill, as the lost measure was called, was not completely forgotten after the General Assembly adjourned. An editorial in the *Louisville Daily Journal*, commenting upon a speech by the Rev. Ryland T. Dillard (who had been appointed Superintendent of Public Instruction) hoped that the Brush Plan would be revived and passed. The other professions are well cared for and now the legislature should do something to encourage the profession of education.[21]

In late August, the Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers met in Louisville. The topic of discussion for the session was "the importance of elevating the business of teaching to a distinct profession and the best means of accomplishing that object." A full house was expected.[22]

Later the *Journal* quoted some of the distinguished leaders who had attended the Louisville meeting who thought that Kentucky was now in the best position to establish the kind of a school system worthy of the state and nation.[23] The September 12 issue carried an editorial commenting favorably upon the action of the College of Professional Teachers in employing an agent to travel among the states and organize the friends of education. The agent, Luther Smith, Esq., was deeply interested in agriculture, a fact that would not handicap him in working with educators.[24] Superintendent Dillard recommended action on the College of Teachers bill to the next legislature noting that "too much attention cannot be well paid to it."[25]

Kentucky educators were disappointed in their vigorous efforts to have the profession of teaching given professional status and privileges by legislation. There was no doubt that some good had come of the movement; prestige of the leaders was enhanced and some good friends among the political leaders were favorably impressed.

It is noteworthy that early legislation for the introduction of agriculture instruction in the schools and for an institution to provide for the education of farmers in the sciences and other farm-related fields appeared in the press during the period when the friends of popular education and the proponents of a state school for teachers were actively supporting like objectives. More than once the suggestion was made that the friends of agriculture and of popular education had compatible, even complementary interests, and should make common cause. An interesting instance of this appeared from the pen of the ever-vigilant Mr. Prentice in September 1845. Noting some early advances in New York, Connecticut, and Tennessee he called for Kentucky to establish agricultural colleges and high schools to

serve the growing need for adequate education of farmers, which would include the sciences upon which agriculture was based. Anticipating the objection that there were no teachers prepared in these fields, it was pointed out that the plan for a College of Teachers had been considered but not adopted. This need for qualified teachers merely added stronger arguments for such an institution. The bill had been advocated by two superintendents but the legislature would not act, and last year the Common School System had been virtually abandoned.

Mr. Prentice went on to express the hope that the Congress might create an agricultural college, by means of the Smithsonian Fund, which might promote agriculture and educate teachers. Agriculture and education would thus go hand-in-hand, and the intention of the donor be fully carried out.[28] Meanwhile Kentucky's next Superintendent of Public Instruction would have to start almost anew and rebuild the common schools.

Teachers' Examinations and Certification

There were no legal provisions for the examination and certification of teachers prior to the enactment of the Common School Act of February 16, 1838. In a few instances, early acts to charter a county academy would include some general reference to qualifications of the president, headmaster, or principal. The act to incorporate old Bethel Academy, approved February 10, 1798, provided that "the president of said academy shall be a man of approved abilities in literature." It was generally understood that all teachers, including headmasters, were to be persons of good moral character as is clearly stated in the language of numerous advertisements for schoolmasters in early Kentucky newspapers. Parents and trustees seeking teachers made whatever examination they could, orally, or by letter; even better was a recommendation from one whose judgment and veracity were respected.

Certification of teachers was not mentioned in early legislation for academies. Probably the nearest approach to a teacher's certificate in those days would have been a letter of recommendation from a school trustee or an influential person who could speak of a teacher's performance.

The Common School Act included provision for a simple procedure for the examination and certification of teachers. School district trustees and county school commissioners were to compose a committee to examine all candidates for teaching in the common schools, and if satisfied in respect to the qualifications of such candidates they were to deliver to persons examined a certificate signed by them in such form as the Superintendent prescribed. Elsewhere, the Act provided that:

> "(13) No person shall be deemed a qualified teacher within the meaning of the Act, who shall not have received, and shall not hold a certificate of qualification from a commissioner and the trustees of the common school, in the district in which he proposes to teach."

These provisions constituted the state's first plan to insure that the common schools would be taught by qualified teachers.

The school commissioners and trustees were largely left to handle the

responsibility of examining and certifying teachers as best they could. In Louisville there was a Board of Visitors that performed this responsibility for the common schools of that city which was rapidly acquiring experience in managing a growing local system of schools.

The revised school law of 1852 further provided for the certification of teachers. The county school commissioners were authorized to appoint one or more competent persons to serve as examiners of teachers. Their duty was to examine all applicants for teaching jobs in the elements of plain English education. A certificate of qualification from an examiner constituted a qualified teacher for the county. Applicants might also be examined and have certificates issued by the county school commissioner. The certificate might be made permanent or annual. The commissioner might revoke a certificate for cause. It was clearly specified that no certificate should be granted to an applicant of known bad moral character. A fifty-cent fee might be charged for the examination.

Many interesting reports of the oral examination may be found. The first county school commissioner of Hardin County recollected that he never refused to issue a certificate to an applicant who could spell reasonably well in three syllables, and certainly one qualified if he could spell *crucifix*.[27]

Well over sixty years later a retired teacher in Magoffin County recalled going to Salyersville to take the teacher's examination. He found the commissioner among a group of men, sitting on a log alongside the street, joking and talking as was their daily custom. Mr. P——— approached the commissioner, introduced himself, and requested an examination. After a brief conversation, Commissioner H——— told him to take a pencil and write his name several times on the log on which they were seated. When this was finished, the commissioner decided that he deserved a second-class certificate which was issued on the spot.[28]

Sometimes a mix-up occurred and an applicant lost out. An applicant who expected to teach in Owsley County took an oral examination and failed to qualify. Mr. M——— was then promised the school if he could obtain a certificate. When he appeared before the commissioner, he found there also the first applicant who expected to be re-considered, whereupon the commissioner made up a competitive examination based primarily upon reading and arithmetic. Both applicants were asked to find one-half of fifty-six by use of figures. The first applicant failed to do so, which put Mr. M——— well ahead. Then he was asked to select a paragraph at random and read from the Fifth Reader. His performance earned a second-class certificate.[29]

This general plan for the examination and certification of would-be teachers continued in effect until the 1870's with only minor changes as prescribed by revisions in the school law. In a few cities, the General Assembly had by special legislation empowered the school boards to examine applicants for teaching positions, among them Covington (1863), Ashland (1870), and Louisville (1870). Until 1870, only one class of certificate was authorized, but in that year three classes were recognized by law, valid for one, two, and four years in the counties where issued.

This classification, with occasional variations, continued well into the next century.

The most significant development of the period was the gradual extension of state authority over the examination and certification of teachers. In 1873, the State Board of Education recommended that the county examining boards utilize written examinations for applicants for teacher's certificates. Superintendent of Public Instruction, H. A. M. Henderson, inaugurated the practice of distributing printed sets of examination questions for the county examiners. In 1884, the State Board of Education was authorized to fix qualifications for all classes of teacher's certificates. Four years later, the State Board of Examiners, which had been organized during Superintendent Henderson's term, was made responsible for preparing the examination questions for all types of certificates issued.

The State Board of Examiners was established in 1873 with legal authority to grant State Certificates, valid in any county of Kentucky for five years. Initial requirement for the highly-prized credential announced in 1875 make interesting reading. An applicant was required to present a certificate of good moral character, attested to by two of the county examining board, to give evidence of his knowledge of the common branches and physiology, and to demonstrate his ability to govern a school and instruct pupils. In 1884, the Board was permitted by law to arrange for its examination at various places and times over the state for the convenience of applicants. County examining boards were authorized to hold examinations for the State Board. All the papers of the candidates together with a $3 fee were forwarded to Frankfort for action. In 1894, the law required the examination to include English, literature, elementary algebra, higher arithmetic, and the science and art of teaching, in addition to the original requirements. Life of the certificate was extended to eight years and the fee raised to $4.

A State Diploma valid for life in any school in Kentucky was authorized by the revised School Law of 1893. Requirements for this, the highest-grade teaching credential available, were more exacting: An applicant had to be 24 years of age, of good moral character, and was required to make an average grade of ninety (90) in English literature, physiology, algebra, higher arithmetic, geometry, physics, and elementary Latin.

These types and classes of teacher's certificates represented the most common credentials for teaching until the post-World War I period when the State Department became the certifying agency. It is noteworthy that the curricula which the different types of teacher-training institutions devised and advertised bore the titles "County Certificate Course," "State Certificate Course," and the like. This was the common practice of public and private institutions alike until well after the state established normal schools early in the next century.

Means of Preparation for Teachers Examinations

In the years following the introduction of examinations based on questions prepared and distributed by the State Board of Examiners many

applicants fared poorly on the tests. This concern on the part of would-be teachers created a strong demand for economical but effective programs that afforded preparation for the dreaded examinations. Several choices for further preparation were available and others were developed to meet this need.

1. *Cramming or Coaching Schools*

One of the most popular as well as the least expensive study programs was attended at a "Teachers Review Course," or normal training class as many were called. These cramming-type schools were usually organized by an experienced teacher after the common school term of five months ended. Candidates were given a quick review of the common branches and coached on the kinds of questions that were commonly encountered in the examinations. Literally scores of such coaching and cramming schools would operate during the late winter and spring. Some educators gained reputations as successful "teachers of teachers."

2. *Home Study with Question Book*

Rigorous home study according to an organized plan to cover all the common branches was another mode of preparation albeit a hard one. An experienced and successful teacher might be persuaded to provide some advice and tutoring. A common practice was to invest in a "Question Book" which consisted of sets of questions that had appeared on previous examinations together with suggested answers. Several of these were in use in Kentucky as late as the 1920's.[30]

3. *Normal Department in Various "Colleges," Academies, Institutes*

Students who could afford to attend a recognized college would hear from the presidents and deans that they were participating in the best possible program to prepare them for teaching. But the number of teachers who had affluent backgrounds was never enough to constitute much of a factor in the teacher supply. Low pay, lack of prestige, and conditions affecting teaching were not calculated to lure many youth, however idealistic, away from more promising careers. Nevertheless, certain private colleges initiated programs specially designed to provide the needed preparation for students interested in a teaching career. Berea maintained a normal school from 1867 to 1931 and made teacher education a major objective; Georgetown College provided an optional normal course from the 1870's until past 1900; a goodly number of "colleges" that no longer exist maintained "normal departments" during the last decades of the 19th century—Bethel Women's College, Caldwell College, Clinton College, Daughters College, Hartford College, and South Kentucky, to name only a few. A number of private academies and other institutions offered opportunity to prepare for teaching for those students who could afford this experience. One institution that placed strong emphasis upon preparation of teachers during this period was the Kentucky Female Orphan School at Midway.

A large number of so-called "colleges," institutes, and academies en-

abled students to prepare for the teacher's examination. These institutions varied widely in matters of sponsorship, organization, and programs offered to students. Some were semi-public in that they had been incorporated by a special act of the legislature which permitted a local group to conduct a "college," but the institution was required to admit the children of school age to primary and intermediate departments for which service the school received its share of state school funds. The same act that chartered such a college would probably include a section authorizing it to grant the usual degrees and other privileges of higher educational institutions. There were other institutions sponsored by denominational groups, a few were clearly missionary enterprises particularly in the case of schools established soon after the Civil War to train teachers for the schools for children of the "Freedmen." Many of this type owed their origin and existence principally to the efforts and energies of some individual, and not a few rose and declined with the fortunes of their leaders.

These "colleges" disappeared for many different reasons. Some merged into what was termed the "graded school districts" which came into vogue in the late 19th century, e.g., Hardinsburg, Hartford, Hodgenville, Vine Grove and Eminence. Reports of the superintendents of public instruction carried various lists of colleges and private institutions and acts of the legislature before 1891, including the "charters" for many schools of this type—all of which complicates the task of the cataloguer. It should be noted that there were no regional accrediting associations during the greater part of the period.

In addition to the so-called colleges, a great host of collegiate institutes, academies, and other of lengthy compound titles existed for varying times. Their story is pretty much the same as that of the "so-called" colleges and they also provided "teacher's courses." Their products went out to show what they could do on the examinations for teacher's certificates.

4. *Attend National Normal University*

There was another way to prepare for teaching which meant leaving the Commonwealth as did a growing number of teacher candidates in the decades after the War. By all odds, the preferred choice was to attend the National Normal University at Lebanon, Ohio, which achieved an enviable reputation as the training-ground of teachers, teacher-educators, school administrators, and college presidents for the Ohio Valley and midwestern region. It became known further for its schools of business(even law and medical schools located in Cincinnati). This unique institution had been founded in 1855 as a teacher-training institution by Alfred Holbrook, son of Josiah Holbrook of American Lyceum fame. Holbrook had little use for the traditional curricula and instructional methods of the liberal arts colleges and prestigious universities. Under his leadership the University developed carefully organized courses in the common branches, added math and science subjects, literature, Latin, and topped it all off with lectures on "school management" and other pedagogical subjects. The faculty, led by his enthusiasm and drive, attempted to teach the courses

in a manner that should be used by their graduates when they began teaching. Other features of the program were required participation in literary societies and drills in speaking, and subject matter, with weekly composition to be submitted for criticism. Holbrook developed textbooks which were based on the methods he had developed and proved successful in producing teachers who could use this approach in their schools. The institution gained widespread reputation as a no-nonsense, economical place to go for preparation. One could be assured that there would be no delay in admittance, that living expenses would be held to absolute cost, and that a full course could be completed in two calendar years. This low-cost, time-saving, approach to preparation for teaching appealed to youth everywhere, but particularly those from the Midwest and South.

The significance of the National Normal in Kentucky's educational history is its contribution to teacher training during this period through the work of Kentuckians who studied at Lebanon and returned to launch and direct normal schools that played an important role in the preparation of teachers for the Commonwealth's schools. It is possible to say that their influence and tradition has been preserved in some measure in public higher educational institutions of the state at this late date. After the war, a growing stream of young Kentuckians found their way to Lebanon. The 13th annual catalog of NNU for 1869 listed eleven Kentucky students; the number rose to several times that figure by the 1890's which marked the high point of the institution's growth. A check of the roster of the NNU Alumni Association for 1893 showed that 93 Kentuckians had kept their membership up to date.[31] Among this group were 4 superintendents, 8 principals, 2 presidents of collegiate institutions, 5 outstanding attorneys, 2 physicians, and numerous teachers—all serving in the Commonwealth. The same roster included names from 40 states, the Oklahoma Territory, and the District of Columbia. No less than 18 active alumni members were serving as presidents of as many colleges or normal schools.

5. *Choose A Private Normal School*

Among the young Kentuckians who studied and caught the "Normal" message were some who would contribute to the educational history of the Commonwealth. Whatever their original purpose for going to Holbrook's big "Normal," several of them returned to Kentucky with ideas that would be put to work at a time and with conditions that contributed to their success. After an ill-fated effort to establish a state normal school in old Transylvania (rather, to transform it into such an institution), the state had left the matter of teacher training to take care of itself. Even publicly-supported high schools were available in only a few cities. In every county an impressive number of candidates for teaching would come forward each year to try their luck on the examinations. Having observed the success of NNU, and the normal schools launched by its graduates in Indiana, Illinois, and elsewhere, it is not surprising to find some more enterprising graduates undertaking to become founders. This is what happened in the 1870's and in the next two decades. The typical pattern was to enlist the

support of community leaders in a county seat, get a normal school started as an adjunct to the district school, and then request a special act of the legislature to incorporate it as a training school for teachers. This latter step was not too difficult as the legislatures of that period proved most obliging in such matters. One could get almost any kind of an institution "chartered" as long as it had an impressive title and did not require an appropriation of state funds.

This approach was followed in a number of places, resulting in "normal schools" that proved worthy of the title they were authorized to bear. The first of these was founded at Catlettsburg by Mrs. Penelope ("Neppie") Roberts, a NNU graduate and instructor there during the Civil War. The Catlettsburg Normal Academy was chartered by act of February 7, 1870.[32] This capable lady, principal of the local academy which she conducted smoothly, was able to add a normal department in which she utilized the "Normal Method" and Professor Holbrook's idea. Her efforts were successful from the start and the normal school quickly gained recognition in northeastern Kentucky. Mrs. Roberts traveled to Germany in 1872 to study universities and teacher training institutions, but the failure of a New York financial firm that held her funds forced an early return home, but not to the normal school. In 1878, after her marriage to Mordecai Williams, the normal school was reopened in a new and enlarged plant with his aid.

The institution afforded instruction to the children of the school district which gave advanced students much direct contact with all classes from primary level through the secondary department. Students came to the collegiate department from the tri-state area; some students rode to school in the caboose of a freight train. A dormitory facility for women was added. College-level courses were offered in Latin and Greek, French and German, and English; in algebra, geometry, trigonometry, and astronomy; in botany, chemistry, physics, and zoology; in English, Greek, Roman and French history; in economics, in psychology and theory and practice. Students were required to observe, participate in drills and various exercises, and even do some teaching when they got to the advanced stage. The school gained a reputation for thorough work and was regarded as an authentic offshoot of the big normal at Lebanon. Unfortunately, the main buildings were destroyed by fire in 1889 and its career ended.

The next of the normal schools that could be considered legitimate of the Holbrook-NNU tradition was the Kentucky Normal School, organized by T. C. H. Vance which opened September 2, 1873. Mr. Vance, also a graduate of NNU, quickly installed the "Normal" idea in the new school. The school was chartered by an act of February 16, 1874 which created a stock company to sponsor the institution.[33] This act is significant in that it provided that graduates of the school might teach in the state for a period of five years without an examination by either county or state authorities. Thus, a diploma from the school came to be regarded as the equivalent of a State Certificate. This set a precedent for a similar provision in the charters for several such institutions during the 1870's and 1880's. The

normal school at Carlisle had much in common with the Catlettsburg normal with some differences.

Another outstanding normal school was opened in 1875 by a native Kentuckian who had graduated from The National Normal. This was the Glasgow Normal School organized in 1876 by Professor A. W. Mell, an able and enthusiastic young educator. In 1884, the school moved to Bowling Green. After Professor Mell left, the school underwent various changes until the Cherry Brothers assumed leadership. Under the title of the Southern Normal School and Bowling Green Business College it became an outstanding educational center.

Several other substantial normal schools were established in Kentucky during this period. Among these were several other founders and leaders who were alumni of the National Normal University. Hundreds of school teachers, trained at NNU or in a school headed by one of its products, taught many thousands of boys and girls with methods learned at the "Normal" and exemplified something of the spirit which had been passed on to them.

Those private normal schools which had received the privilege granted by the charter from the General Assembly which enabled their graduates to count the diploma as equivalent to a state or county certificate obviously had an advantage over competing institutions. The normal schools at Carlisle and Glasgow received this privilege in 1874 and 1876, then followed Brooksville Seminary in 1880, Southern in Bowling Green and East Kentucky at Catlettsburg in 1886. Meanwhile, the new Normal School department of the A&M College of Kentucky had been established with the same concession in 1880. Furthermore, the act creating the state normal school for colored persons granted a limited provision for certification after a trial period. The closing days of the legislature in May 1886 brought a rash of special bills to extend this advantage to a half-dozen colleges, academies, even a high school, mostly in western Kentucky. A total of fourteen could graduate students who would not take the examination.

Reports from the county superintendents in some of the counties included complimentary remarks about the quality of work done in the normal schools or departments located in their counties. Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1886-87 published such comments from Boyd, Metcalfe, Muhlenberg, Ohio, Todd and Wayne superintendents about good teachers from neighboring institutions.[34] But there was another side of the picture.[35] The report from Grayson county expressed the view that all superintendents should use the State Board examination for all teachers so as to get a good comparison of their preparation to teach. The superintendent of Shelby County Schools called the granting of State certification to graduates of certain schools a mistake.

"Everyone should stand examination, no matter what school, he or she may graduate. A diploma is no test of scholarship," he declared.

Similar views were expressed from Union County where it was observed that some teachers holding State certificates without benefit of examination were *doing inferior work!* "Those laws should be repealed that launched

a set of unqualified teachers on the State from some of the chartered institutions." Doubtless members of the General Assembly returning home heard even more of such.

The outcome of the democratic process that evidently transpired in several counties of the Commonwealth is found in the record of the General Assembly that met for its regular session on December 30, 1887. An act requiring teachers to obtain certificates of qualification was passed and approved April 24, 1888.[36] The preamble appears to present the picture as the State's solons view it:

> "WHEREAS, Certain chartered schools of this Commonwealth have obtained, through the General Assembly of the State of Kentucky, privilege to grant diplomas to their graduates, which diplomas are equivalent to a State Certificate, giving its holder a right to teach school in the various counties of their Commonwealth without being examined by the Board of County School Examiners; and whereas, certain of the chartered institutions are abusing the privileges granted them by the General Assembly, and do grant diplomas to persons wholly or in part incompetent to teach the branches prescribed by the common school law; therefore
>
> *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky:*
>
> 1. That the teachers of the common schools of this Commonwealth be required to obtain certificates of qualification from the Board of Examiners in the county in which they expect to teach, and that no person be permitted to teach in the common schools of this Commonwealth who has not obtained certificates of qualification from the county board.
>
> 2. All acts and parts of acts passed and approved before the passage of this act, in conflict with the provisions of this act, are hereby repealed."

The act was to take effect and be in force from June 1, 1888.

6. *Pay the Question-Peddler*

The general act of 1888 put all normal schools, especially those under private control, on more of an equal footing. All who wished to find teaching jobs had to submit to the county board's examinations; moreover they had to pass. Many candidates for a teacher's certificate felt the pressure to the point that they were susceptible to the kinds of temptations that may be offered by unscrupulous persons. This brings forward another way that some sought to acquire the prized document—a valid certificate to teach in the common schools. All the pressure and the tension of the months preceding the examinations gave the "question peddler" the chance to capitalize on the situation. By hook or crook, sometimes bribery, on rare occasions by collusion, and other means, illicit dealers would obtain copies of the examination questions which were being prepared by the State Board of Examiners in Frankfort. Accomplices or minor crooks who would buy in a share of the nefarious business would "peddle" sets of the examinations that were being printed and readied for distribution to the several county boards. This kind of cheap rascality continued to be a problem for years, particularly in certain counties. Reports of the superintendents offer ample testimony of the problem and the concern which it gave to professional educators and the citizenry in general.

Other problems relating to teachers' examinations were reported from time to time. Occasionally a school official was charged with collusion, of favoritism in grading examination papers, of "selling" access to questions. On extremely rare occasions, one would lose his job because of such charges of illegal conduct.

A minor problem was mentioned by a superintendent in the 1905-1907 biennial report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction. This observer suggested that "examiners" should be barred from any connection with correspondence courses for teachers or from teaching in "normal school" classes, as a means of preventing "favoritism toward former students who might show up for examination."[37]

7. *Reading Educational Journals*

Another means of improvement available to teachers for varying periods of time was that of educational journals. On the national scene there were publications for teachers and friends of education dating from the 1820's. Most of these were short-lived and it is not expected that any of the earliest periodicals had much effect in the western states—save in the common practice for newspaper editors to publish excerpts from eastern journals. For example, information from the American Lyceum was printed in Lexington and Louisville papers in the 1830's. After the relatively successful journal edited by Henry Barnard appeared there was even more reprinting of educational developments. But the effect of this was felt principally among the small circle of "professional teachers" who were not dependent upon imported ideas and information anyway. The educational journals that would have been expected to exert some professional influence in Kentucky and to be useful to educators of the Commonwealth were those that originated in Cincinnati, Lexington, and Louisville.

The editor of the *Louisville Daily Journal*, ever the alert supporter of education, welcomed the appearance of the *Western School Journal* in April 1842.[38] This early periodical for teachers and friends of education was edited by Dr. O. Sheldon Leavitt, of Covington, an active member of the Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers. The next January, Mr. Prentice announced that the *Western School Journal* would now be printed by the *Louisville Daily Journal* press and that the "College of Teachers" had appointed a committee to assist in the editorial work.[39]

Unfortunately, optimistic expectations for the *Western School Journal* did not materialize. The *Louisville Daily Journal* came to its aid with an editorial boosting it as a bargain for both parents and teachers.[40] This excellent little journal had languished because many educators were delinquent in payment for issues already received and the editor thought the list of delinquents should be published.

Despite the strong support of Mr. Prentice and several leading Kentucky educators, the little journal must have languished and closed publication. At any rate, the consistent *Louisville Daily Journal* later took up the cause for another *Western School Journal* to be published in Cincinnati.[41]

This new journal would be sent free to any teacher, at least for a time, at its introduction. Postmasters were urged to send in the names of prominent friends of education who might wish to receive the new journal. The object of the educational publication was the promotion of education in the West.

Several ambitious efforts to launch educational journals in the West were made in the second quarter of the century, principally projects that centered in Cincinnati. *The Academic Pioneer and Guardian of Education* printed a first issue in June 1831. Another Cincinnati publication, the *Western Monthly Magazine*, devoted to education and the arts, appeared from 1833 through 1835. Both of these journals were strongly supportive of public education in the West and were recommended by the leading educators. However, the articles and speeches published appealed to a very restricted audience. It is doubtful that either had any effect upon the teachers of the Commonwealth.

Within the state, an earlier magazine, *The Transylvanian*, began publication in 1829, but its short life and the nature of the content precluded any appreciable influence upon the professional growth of Kentucky teachers. It was through the columns of the newspapers of the larger towns and, to a lesser extent, in the county seat press, that the typical Kentuckian got most of his information about educational ideas and developments in the first half of the century. This readership would include teachers. A few alert leaders might have kept up with the College of Professional Teachers and some of the eastern journals.

It was not until the formation of the Kentucky Association of Teachers that the practice of looking to professional journals for information and practical help came to be followed by an appreciable number of teachers. The Association sponsored two periodicals, both short-lived, in its earliest years. The weekly, *Kentucky Family Journal*, was launched in February 1858 but did not survive the year; its successor, the *Educational Monthly*, started late that year but was folded before the end of 1859. E. A. Holyoke, the editor of both periodicals, found there was not a supportive reading public. Another publication, the *Kentucky Journal of Education*, served briefly as the official organ of the Association in 1869.[42]

Even after the Association was revived post-bellum, with its official connection with the State Board of Education, there was no professional journal of any lasting significance for some time. T. C. H. Vance, founder of the Kentucky Normal School in Carlisle in the 1870's also published a new journal there, the *Eclectic Teacher*, from 1876 to 1880. This little journal appealed to teachers by emphasis upon subject matter and suggestions for teaching methods that were related to their own situations. However, the journal did not survive long after Vance left Carlisle and its publication was moved to Lounsville, then Lexington, where it ceased publication.

The Teachers' Association enrolled only a few hundred active members through most of the last decades of the century, a clientele too small for a viable publishing venture. Nevertheless, the Association adopted or

authorized certain journals as its official organ during the period. *The Educational Courant* first appeared in 1884, under the editorship of Hon. Z. F. Smith, then Prof. R. H. Carothers. The content and general appearance of the *Courant* must have marked an advance in the kind of professional journal available to the teachers. It also carried news stories of the institutes, county teachers' associations, the State Board of Education, and the like.

During the decade of the "Gay Nineties" which was a significantly active one for education in this country, the teachers were offered another professional journal that originated with the leaders of the Cook County (Illinois) Normal School under the leadership of the renowned Col. Francis W. Parker. *The Public School*, appeared in July 1896, from two publication offices, Chicago and Lexington.[43] Although it had no official connection with the State Education Association it gave space and attention to educational matters of interest to Kentucky teachers and also offered material about developments of general interest to educators. The obvious aim was to offer the best from two worlds. The Superintendent of Public Instruction gave the new journal his blessing in the first monthly issue.

Much of the material originated in the Cook County Normal School and was designed for classroom teachers of the early grades. In the first issue the child study movement was strongly recommended to Kentucky teachers and an article described "How Kentucky May Begin the Work." A series on "Our Educational Leaders" featured a sketch on Horace Mann, that included an interesting quote: "Work is to me what water is to a fish." The most novel item was an announcement of the 10th annual session of the Kentucky Chatauguas to be held in Woodland Park, Lexington, June 30th through July 10th. One feature of this cultural extravaganza was a "School of Pedagogy" with Professor Ruric N. Roark, dean of the Normal Department at the A. and M. College, billed as the director.[44]

This journal was not designated an official organ of the Kentucky Educational Association, but it counted during examinations and at institutes when teachers were asked whether they subscribed to and read educational periodicals, and if so, what ones. Another source of professional reading materials for teachers during the latter part of this period was the publications of the F. A. Owen Publishing Company of Danville, New York, *The Normal Instructor*. This journal probably was listed as often as several others put together when teachers responded to questionnaires about their professional reading practices.

From 1890, the Kentucky Educational Association had an official house organ that served it well for many years. This was the *Southern School Journal*, edited by prominent Kentucky educators, J. C. Willis, and Rice Eubank. Issues contained many excerpts from national journals, a lead article by an authority on some subject, news of educational significance in the Commonwealth, announcements regarding professional matters, advance programs of conventions and meetings, some contributions by Association members, and a wide variety of advertisements of education

materials. A popular feature was the publication of questions used for past teachers' examinations; often "answers" were published.

The last issue for 1902 included a lead article by E. E. White of Columbus, Ohio, entitled "The Art of Teaching."[45] The Cincinnati Games Company advertised several "Educational Games" specifically naming three new mathematics games: Games of "Addition and Subtraction," of "Fractions," and of "Multiplication and Division," which were recommended for study hour, occupation, and class work.[46] An example of the semi-official type of announcement carried was information about the "Teachers' Reading Circle" with suggested books. Occasionally it might be announced that the questions on "Theory and Practice of Teaching" would be taken from a certain book or books included in the Reading Circle list for that year. This column gave information about this feature of Kentucky's schools which was started in 1900. Although this Commonwealth was considered backward in many educational affairs, it would stand as the first state to set aside part of the fees for county teachers' institutes to be used for professional libraries for the teachers at the superintendents' offices.[47] The July issue in 1903 devoted five pages to the "Questions and Answers" for the county teachers' examination that had been held in June.[48]

Editorials in the *Southern School Journal* during the period of the General Assembly's session clearly "beat the drums" for a new attack upon the problems of providing qualified teachers for all of Kentucky's schools. In January the editor hoped there was a prospect that the Legislature would do something to improve schools and lengthen the common school term. The teaching force of the state had been changing at a rate of 25 percent per annum, or more. Nearly one-third of the teachers held only third-class certificates. Allowing for the differences in grading among the county boards of examiners, there was still enough to be frightened about in the number of poorly-qualified teachers in the schools.[49] All of this appeared to prepare the ground for action upon a teacher-training program.

Before the legislature ended the session, the *Journal* editorialized again, getting more specifically to the need for teacher training. The editor called upon teachers and the friends of popular education to urge the General Assembly to support all departments of the State College.[50]

An interesting item carried in the 1904 issues of the *Journal* was a full-page advertisement of what was called the Kentucky Correspondence College, Inc. This was an organization, which offered courses by mail for home study by persons who wished to prepare for the county teachers' examinations. The names listed under "Faculty" constituted something of a list of distinguished Kentucky educators of the time. This appeared to be another means available to teachers who wished to study at home to improve themselves professionally and to pass the required examinations for teaching certificates.

The Kentucky Educational Association and its official journal gave substantial and consistent support to the State College during the early years of the new century. Undoubtedly a major factor that contributed to this policy was the cordial, cooperative relationship of the Association's

leaders with the dean and faculty of the Normal School of the College. Perhaps the strongest link was the dedication of both groups of leaders to the task of improving the public education systems of the Commonwealth. Only when it appeared that the existing arrangement of a small normal department of the State College (which was not counted as a part of the college program), could not meet the demand for teacher training on a scale required by the state's needs did the "normal school" people get the campaign launched that led to the state normal schools act of 1906.

Teachers' Institutes

Teachers' institutes, like many other educational innovations, came into use in Kentucky nearly a quarter of a century after their introduction into the Ohio Valley. The institute, originated in 1839 by Henry Barnard at Hartford, Connecticut, appeared in Ohio as early as 1844. At that moment, Kentucky's educational leadership was endeavoring to establish a state normal school in old Transylvania. As the years passed and the state emerged from the Civil War with its school system a shambles, the need for qualified teachers was more desperate than ever. Since the repeated arguments and urgings of the superintendent and even certain governors for the establishment of training schools for teachers had elicited only half-hearted efforts and no dependable support, the gravity of the situation impelled Superintendent Z. F. Smith to take action, using means that seemed expedient at the time.

In his report for 1869, Smith recommended the adoption of the Teachers' Institute as a temporary measure, expecting no doubt there would be no relaxation of efforts to get normal schools established for the training of competent teachers.[31] As it turned out, the Teachers' Institute remained the main provision for the improvement of teachers for the next half-century. The General Assembly accepted Smith's recommendation in principle but on a limited basis. The law required the holding of teachers' institutes in each of the counties of the state under direction of the county school commissioners or persons designated by them. The general supervision of all the institutes was the responsibility of the state superintendent. Teachers of common schools and others who expected to teach were required to attend an institute. Programs of the institutes were to last six days and schools in session were allowed a week's vacation for teachers to attend. Teachers' associations were encouraged to hold their meetings at evening sessions during the institute. A $2 fee used for expenses could be charged each teacher. Any surplus that remained was to be divided among the schools that had library funds.[32]

On this basis the teachers' institute made its debut as a feature of the common school system. Superintendent Smith expressed deep regret that the institutes had provided but a mockery of what he had hoped for; they were only permissive and the teachers were required to pay for them out of their own pockets. The teachers' contributions did allow adequate funds for payment of the instructors and other expenses of the institutes. One of the added expenses was for pay for the attendance of the county

boards of examiners who were required to attend the institutes to examine and qualify teachers.

The state could not be induced to establish the requisite normal schools, so the Teachers' Institute was used to improve the qualifications of teachers and assist them to improve performance in their teaching. Certainly the institutes could deal with many of the details involved in organizing and managing the schools; it might be the means of helping teachers to correct some of their eccentric habits and mannerisms and lead some to abandon certain ludicrous practices that had had their day in the old time "blab school."

Superintendent H. A. M. Henderson (1871-1879), vigorously promoted the teachers' institutes as the chief means available for the purpose of improving teaching in the common schools. He wanted every teacher to be compelled by law to attend the county institutes, unless excused for a reason that the county school commissioner would have to consider legitimate, with forfeiture of a certificate as the penalty for absentees. However, he disapproved of the practice of charging the teachers a fee for attendance.

He also promoted the idea of holding a "Congressional Institute," under his own direction, in each congressional district of the state. In addition the State Teachers' Association was to be planned to embody some features of a state institute. An appropriation of $2,000 was requested for each of the next two years to pay experts to conduct the institutes and to supply the best charts, diagrams, maps and other materials. A schedule for the nine congressional district institutes and the State Association was suggested for 1872 as an aid to the necessary planning. Commissioners and the teachers' associations were requested to suggest places and plans for these sessions, entertainment for those in attendance, and the like.[53]

The congressional institutes and the State Teachers' Association at Frankfort occupied nearly every week during June, July, and August. Henderson participated in all of these save two and felt that it was valuable in that he was able to meet with many school officials. Thirty-eight county school commissioners attended the twelve institutes (three districts held institutes in two places) and large public audiences attended evening sessions.[54]

The zeal of Superintendent Henderson and the interest which certain county school commissioners exhibited began to show results. Several commissioners commented upon the county institutes with some show of enthusiasm. The Superintendent continued to provide active leadership for the institutes yet he never ceased to promote the cause of normal schools. A manual of instructions was prepared and distributed to the county school commissioners for assistance in planning and conducting an institute. Inquiries concerning instructors, or professional books for teachers to read, and numerous questions were answered promptly in the effort to support those who were in the field.

Attendance was made mandatory for all teachers who expected to teach during the approaching school year by a provision in the school law of

1888. This added nothing to the popularity of the annual teachers' institutes but the practice of attending was already well established. In many county seat towns "The Institute" was an annual social event.

None of Mr. Henderson's successors appear to have shared his enthusiasm and zest for the work of the institutes although they continued well after the establishment of the new state normal schools. Henderson's zeal and his painstaking planning and preparation were factors in the successful use of the institute in the 1870's. For nearly four decades this constituted the chief means of affording teachers better preparation for their work in the state's common schools. The "instructors" of the institute represented the principal contact most Kentuckians would have with their educational leaders until attendance at the state normal schools of he early 20th century began to affect teacher preparation.

Much criticism was heard about the institutes in various counties from time to time. A common complaint was that programs stressed lectures and offered too few practicable helps as to methods and procedures. Some "instructors" achieved some kind of popularity by making clever, witty, and entertaining talks but left little in the way of improvement in the understanding and skills of the teachers. Frequently, new ideas and suggestions were not followed up in any constructive sense, as the discussions often turned into the airing of uninformed opinions. Time was given to showy or amusing exercises—elocutionary readings, intricate grammatical questions, mathematical puzzles, original essays or poems by local celebrities, and the like. A good example was reported in the *Owensboro Semi-weekly Messenger*, September 8, 1882: Teachers in the Warren County Institute, after considerable discussion, decided that the sentence reading, "Oats are ripe," is correct. Doubtless there are numerous others.

Another factor that tended to lessen the interest of teachers was the increased opportunity to participate in other activities of a cultural nature that offered competition in the form of different programs. Communities in various sections of the state supported lyceum series during the winter and chataugua week in the summer. The large number of soc-called colleges, private academic institutes, and high schools offered a variety of public entertainment and cultural programs—debating clubs, literary societies, musical groups, concerts, lectures, recitals, oratorical and declamatory contests, and the like. All this made it increasingly difficult for the institute to make a hit with teachers who had no liking for the compulsory attendance requirement anyway.

But there were institutes that offered excellent programs designed to assist new teachers especially to get started in their work. Some instructors came to be in great demand and were asked to return to the same counties year after year. In the earliest years the instructors tended to be chosen from journalists, ministers, veterans and politicians who were noted for speaking.[55] An examination of the reports would show that the type of instructor selected changed significantly as the sponsors gained experience.

In the later decades the institutes were planned to include time for county teachers' associations to meet during the session. Time was also

given to the promotion of the Reading Circle programs, book exhibits, and to a growing number of administrative matters. In the last years the institutes changed; it would have been difficult to distinguish between them and many of the routine "housekeeping" teachers' meetings held prior to the opening of present-day schools.

Early Efforts for Normal Schools

The tedious account of the attenuated efforts of the state educational authorities to devise more effective means of examining and certifying teachers for the common schools must not give the impression that there was no concern about efforts toward development of public institutions for the training of teachers. There was an intelligent concern on the part of many of the Commonwealth's educational leaders, and there were notable efforts to launch normal schools early in the history of the common school system. The record of that concern and of early efforts constitutes a parallel theme to that of the development of teacher examinations.

Concern about the preparation of teachers existed since the days of the earliest schools on the frontier. It was evident in the thinking of the framers of early policy for county academies; it was implicit in the innovative experiments with new educational theories and systems in the first third of the 19th century; it comprised significant portions of the two major studies that precede the development of the common school system, and it was a major theme of discussion among the professional groups within the state and in Ohio Valley circles during the 1830's and 1840's. Concern is not all that marks the record of educational development in the Commonwealth.

Among the early efforts to prepare teachers were those of Mr. Peers in his Eclectic Institute around 1830, the short-lived use of the monitorial plan in the first free school in Louisville beginning in 1829, and a good deal of individualized attention of outstanding schoolmasters to prepare some of their students to become teachers. Authors of early school textbooks frequently included instructions for teachers in the prefatory material. During this period there were four proposals from either the trustees or faculty of Transylvania to undertake programs to train teachers for the common schools which were expected to be started in the districts which had been given boundaries by the county courts. It is hardly necessary to add that the legislature did not see fit to appropriate funds for any of these proposed plans.

Perhaps the most significant factor in the cultural scene in which the common school system was launched was the findings of the Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers. This amazing group of leaders and friends of educators from the states of the West (principally those of Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky at the outset), studied any and all aspects of education over a fifteen-year period through 1844. One of the recurring themes for study and discussion was the need for schools to train teachers for the kind of common schools that should be established in all the states. A number of these efforts culminated in a statement of

the 1838 convention that "Normal schools are essential to the highest success of the common school system."[56]

A committee, chaired by Calvin E. Stowe, was appointed to draft a resolution in favor of establishing such schools in each state and to prescribe their course of studies. The report which was promptly forthcoming consisted of four proposed resolutions that appeared to have been given careful thought and consideration. The first stated that interest in popular education in the West demanded the establishment at the seat of government in each state, under the patronage of the legislature, of a teachers' seminary and model school for the instruction and practice of teachers in the science of education and the art of teaching. The second proposed that students should be at least 16 years of age and be well versed in all the branches usually taught in the common schools.

The third resolution outlined a course of study that would cover three years and comprise lectures and recitations on at least the following topics and others that further observation and experience would show to be necessary, namely:

> "1. A thorough, scientific, and demonstrative study of all the branches to be taught in the common schools, with directions at every step as to the best method of inculcating each lesson upon children of different dispositions and various intellectual habits.
>
> 2. The philosophy of mind, in reference to its susceptibility of receiving impressions from other minds.
>
> 3. The peculiarities of intellectual and moral development in children, as modified by sex, parental character, wealth or poverty, city or country, indulgence or severity, steadiness or fickleness in family government, etc.
>
> 4. The science of Education in general, with full illustrations of the particulars in which education differs from mere instruction.
>
> 5. The art of teaching.
>
> 6. The art of governing, with special reference to the imparting and cherishing a feeling of love for children.
>
> 7. The history of education, including an outline of the educational systems of different ages and nations, the circumstances which gave rise to them, the principles on which they were founded, the ends which they aimed to accomplish, their permanency or changes, how far they influenced national and individual character, how far any of them might have originated in premeditated plans on the part of their founders, whether they secured the intelligence, virtue and happiness of the people, or otherwise, and the causes, etc.
>
> 8. Dignity and importance of the teacher's office.
>
> 9. Special religious obligations of teachers in respect to benevolent devotedness to the moral and intellectual welfare of society and habits of entire self-control, purity of mind, elevation of character, etc.
>
> 10. The influence which the school should exert on the progress of civilization.
>
> 11. German, French and Spanish languages, with the elements of Latin."

The final resolution proposed that the senior class in the teachers' seminary should be employed, under the immediate inspection of their professors, as teachers in the model school.[57]

The report was significant albeit none of the states represented in the

convention immediately undertook to establish normal schools. Nor was such a plan followed in the first normal schools. But thirty-odd Kentucky leaders and friends of education were members of the Institute and College of Professional Teachers. They had heard earlier discussions of normal schools and of the education of teachers in that body. There is evidence to suggest that many of the ideas were taken seriously. It should be noted that a bill to establish a "College of Teachers" in connection with Transylvania—the State's University—received consideration by the 1835 General Assembly but lost in the House by a vote of 34 to 45.[58] This was not to be a normal school or department but a plan to select able young men to be educated at public expense in the University, each of whom would enter into an agreement to teach for three years in the county of his election. Thus, it was clear that a concept of teacher education far more comprehensive than was to be found in any of the early normal schools was current among the state's educational leaders.

Students of educational history can hardly evade questions about the disparity between the ideas and views held by eminent minds concerned about education and the slow, agonizing struggle that marked every educational effort in the Commonwealth. The thought that Kentucky or Ohio could have been the initiator of state normal schools or even of a more comprehensive plan of teacher education well in advance of that modest beginning of Cyrus Pierce and his three young-lady students in far-off Lexington, Massachusetts, in 1839 will probably occur to the researcher. But the temptation to fantasize must be curbed; history must be taken as it is found. The broad gap between what Kentuckians might have had if they could have implemented the ideas of Benjamin Orr Peers and what our forefathers actually had to "make do" with in education is one of those phenomena that has even marked the course of history. The tension between the desirable and the possible can be clearly observed by the student of history in the situation that existed when the Commonwealth undertook to have a common school system.

The very first Superintendent of Public Instruction voiced the need for normal schools:

> "The founding of one or more normal schools for the purpose of training the sons of the sail, for teaching, is a favorite measure with many of the friends of education. The establishment of a school or schools for teachers is certainly a great desideratum. It is the voice of reason and experience that they must exist before education can be performed in the best possible manner, and with the greatest attainable success."[59]

Superintendent Bullock suggested that some kind of arrangement might be made with existing colleges and academies to train candidates for teaching, even though this would be only a substitute for what was needed.

In the next legislature a resolution was adopted by the Senate which instructed the Committee on Education to inquire into the propriety of amending the Common School Act to authorize the education at public expense of a number of poor young men, for teachers of common schools in this Commonwealth; and whether additional endowments should be

made for that object to Transylvania University, the Southern, Cumberland, Centre and Augusta Colleges, or to any other college or literary institution in the state, and to report by bill or otherwise.[60] The language of the resolution appeared to reflect the ideas of Bullock as expressed in his first and only report, but nothing came of the proposal. All the early successors to the first superintendent voiced the need for normal schools with the same results to show for their efforts.

In his 1839 message to the General Assembly, Governor Wickliffe made reference to the need for trained teachers and to the possibility of using a part of the School Fund to establish a chair in the State's University for the purpose of training students for teaching.[61] Some support for the idea of a training school for teachers was expressed in the press during this period. One "Madison" wanted to spend interest on the School Fund to establish one or more professorships to train teachers.[62] Expressions by the state's highest authorities mark the beginning of a long series of statements of need for teacher training and recommendations for action that continued for nearly seventy years. Parts of the several reports of the state superintendent's reports read like a litany in this respect.[63]

During the second decade of the period, when the Common School System was established in spite of stupendous difficulties, some initial efforts were made to start a normal school. A bill to reorganize Transylvania University and to establish a school for teachers received consideration in the Senate but could not command a majority vote.[64] The bill proposed to provide free instruction for students selected from the counties in return for a pledge to teach the same number of years they spent in college, and also for the admission of teachers already in service to one year of College preparation. Sponsors of the bill, including Superintendent Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge, were encouraged by the discussion of the merits of the bill.[65] Breckenridge continued to support the idea of a normal school after he was succeeded by another able superintendent, John D. Matthews.[66] The latter dealt thoroughly with the whole question of a normal school in his report for 1855 and strongly urged that one be organized in old Transylvania.[67] When the General Assembly met, Governor Charles S. Morehead recommended this proposal to the legislators in his annual message.[68] This time action followed and on March 10, 1856 a normal school act was approved.[69]

Transylvania was reorganized into a normal school ,with a new president and reorganized faculty and curriculum. Eighty students selected in the several counties took advantage of the opportunity and the school made an auspicious start. Later there was about 125 students in attendance. The curriculum included emphasis upon the common branches, and there were lectures on the art of teaching, school government, and the like. But the faculty found that most of the students needed to be given the elments of a good general education.

Unfortunately, this initial attempt of the state to establish a teacher-training institution proved a short-lived experiment. Efforts to have the act repealed started early in the school's operation and continued. Some

objected to the appropriation of $12,000 being taken from the State School Fund. Others complained that all the public funds were used to support only a few teacher-candidates. Finally, it was argued that the law establishing the school and the appropriation conflicted with the new State Constitution of 1850. The result was almost a foregone conclusion; the act was repealed by the legislature in 1858 and the state's first normal school ended abruptly.[70] Recognized leaders deplored the move but no further action could be initiated until after the holocaust of Civil War and the myriad problems of rebuilding the shattered school system had been lived through.

During the Fifties another major development brought a new factor into the educational structure of the state, one that was to influence policies related to teachers and teacher training in the Commonwealth. This was the organization of the Kentucky Association of Teachers which was effected at a meeting in Louisville, December 28-30, 1857.[71] Variously organized and under several official names, the "Teachers' Association" contributed significantly to the planning and growth of public education, especially during the second half of its existence. In the final campaign to establish state normal schools, the Association contributed invaluable support, perhaps playing the decisive role.[72]

Efforts to Establish Normal Schools

No further provision was made by the General Assembly for the establishment of state normal school for twenty years. There was no lack of concern or of urging such action upon the part of the educational leadership of the Commonwealth. Every superintendent renewed the plea for an institution to train teachers, efforts seconded by certain other influential leaders who saw that reviving of the common school system after the War depended upon the finding of qualified instructors.

There was, however, an effort in the Legislature of 1863-64 to provide for a state normal school under circumstances that appear to have been unusual. A bill to establish a state school for teachers was reported in the Senate in early January which was considered, recommitted, reported again, and finally disposed of by recommitment to the Committee on Education on February 1.[73] Ordinarily this move might mark the end of such a measure but not in this case.

February 3, the Senate received a House bill entitled, "An act to provide for the increase of the Common School Fund." After the usual preliminary readings, it was referred to the Committee on Revised Statutes. Strangely when the bill was reported out of committee on February 15, it came from the Committee on Education with a proposed amendment that provided for establishment and support of a state school for teachers. The proposed amendment read as follows:

> "That one half of one percent of the additional tax herein proposed shall be appropriated and used to establish and sustain a state school for the education of teachers, in such mode and manner as the Legislature may from time to time prescribe."[74]

The bill as amended was handled expeditiously and passed. In view of the Senate amendment, the bill was returned to the House for concurrence. The House received the amended bill from the Senate February 16. The House acted with dispatch and on the next day disagreed with the Senate amendments, which message was duly sent to that body.[75]

February 18 the Senate considered the House action and resolved "that the Senate do insist upon their amendment," which action was immediately sent to the House. Later in the day the House took up the question, "Will the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate to said bill?" and decided in the negative.

A message was received from the Senate on the 19th announcing that a committee had been appointed to act in conjunction with a House committee that might be named to take into consideration the disagreement of the two houses on the bill. The House appointed three joint committee members, which action concluded the story of the ill-fated bill as recorded by the journals.

Much of the real story of the bill was not recorded in the journals of the Legislature. Educational leaders and friends of the common school system were probably mystified by the inconsistency of certain actions of the Senate in particular. Questions must have puzzled many: Why should the Senate consider a bill to establish a state school for teachers that originated from its own committee, only to bury it after five weeks of dallying, then to tack an amendment for the same object on to a House bill that was designed to put a proposed increased tax for common schools to the voters at the next election? Was the Senate's own bill for a state school for teachers scuttled when the leaders decided to tack such a provision on to the House bill for a popular vote on a proposed increase of state school tax which was expected to reach them shortly? Was this used as a means to kill the House bill rather than an effort to get a state school for teachers? Certainly this was the outcome; actually both measures lost as the result.

Superintendent of Public Instruction, Daniel Stevenson, who had only begun his term of office, must have asked such questions. In the first report he discussed this subject:

> "The subject of the establishment of a state school for teachers was much discussed during the recent session of the General Assembly. A majority of the Senate were in favor of providing by legislative enactment for the establishment of such a school. This was made evident by the fact that when the House bill, providing for submitting to a vote of the people the proposition to levy an additional tax of five cents on every hundred dollars worth of taxable property in the State, for common school purposes, therein, came up for consideration in the Senate, an amendment was adopted providing that one half of one cent, or one-tenth of the whole amount proposed to be raised, should be used for establishing and supporting a school of the kind above mentioned. A majority of the House of Representatives desiring that the question proposing an increase of tax for common school purposes would be presented to the people on its own merits were unwilling to agree to the amendment of the Senate, and hence the Legislature adjourned without taking final action in regard to either measure."[76]

Apparently Stevenson believed that both measures had support in the General Assembly and that both lost for lack of time for conference and communication. Friends of education in the two Houses apparently valued the two educational measures differently; each held out for its first preference until time ran out. This would appear to be the most favorable evaluation of the episode that could be supported by the record. Certain other questions and theories could be expressed but the bare records of the journals cannot supply needed proof. One clear lesson should have been evident, friends and supporters of education measures should keep up good communication.

The war ended with the common school system in a wretched condition. The tasks of reorganizing and revitalizing the system would alone have proved herculean but these were not all. The schools were in need of just about everything which called for money. Two measures designed to put a tax increase to a popular vote went down the drain while the nation was still at arms. All the persistent problems, accentuated by years of neglect and attrition, required action. Added was the new one of providing schools for the children of the freedmen. Superintendent Z. F. Smith (1867-71) led a courageous uphill battle to overcome this myriad of problems and to put the school system into effective operation. In the face of the handicaps and adverse conditions, it appeared little short of a miracle that the educational forces, led by the superintendent, so convinced the citizens of the need that they voted in a third referendum to have state school taxes increased four fold—from .5c to .20c per $100 of taxable property. In the midst of all his labors and trials, Mr. Smith found time to impress the need for a normal school upon the General Assembly. This he failed to get, but he did take a step calculated to improve the training of the teachers of common schools. Superintendent Smith initiated a stop-gap measure, a plan for teachers' institutes to be conducted for a week or so in each county in which teachers could be instructed in the common branches and methods.

A second attempt to establish a state training school for teachers was successful late in the administration of Superintendent H. A. M. Henderson (1871-79). Several strong recommendations and pleas by the superintendent, seconded by the State Board of Education, colleagues and several friends of the common schools, finally induced the General Assembly to enact legislation providing for a provisional normal school of ten weeks duration during the summers of 1878 and 1879. The act approved April 9, 1878 authorized the use of the campus and plant of the Kentucky Military Institute, at Farmdale, near Frankfort as the site of the school and designated the following leaders as the faculty to have charge of the planning and operation of the new institution: Superintendent of Public Instruction Henderson; Col. R. D. Allen, Commandant of the Institute; W. H. Bartholomew, of Louisville; and S. P. Browder, Principal of the Frankfort Schools.[77] All were dedicated leaders of common school forces and thoroughly committed to the normal school idea. Typically, the General Assembly made no appropriation to defray the cost of the normal schools.

It did provide that teachers who completed the full course of study as outlined by the faculty should be recommended to the State Board of Examiners which should issue them five-year State Certificates without charge. It further provided that any teacher attending the normal school for more than one week should be excused from attendance at any county teachers' institute for that year.

An offer of free tuition was made to one person from each county for the 1878 session. Despite this inducement, the total enrollment was only thirty, twenty-five remaining throughout the term. Over half of those who remained for the full term received the coveted State Certificate.[78]

The first group issued a closing statement that praised the regular faculty and approved the KMI plant as a good place for the school. The opportunity to work in the laboratory under the direction of the professor of natural science, use of the microscope, and the chance to collect botanical, zoological, and geological specimens were especially gratifying. The "Normal Class of 1878" expressed strong support for the establishment of a permanent normal school under state control and hoped that the summer's demonstration would make the need clear to all.[79] More elaborate plans were made for the second summer session. Superintendent Henderson reported that the session of July and August, 1879, was successful and productive of "remunerative results."

Louisville Normal School

An early and successful movement to establish a normal school to train teachers for the elementary schools was accomplished by the Board of Education of Louisville. This city already had the distinction of establishing the first free public school in Kentucky (1829) and it had pioneered in the development of the position of school superintendent, being one of the earliest boards to have its own administrator.

The new Constitution of 1850 permitted the General Assembly to enact special laws which granted special privileges to cities, among them that of setting up separate school systems. Louisville immediately requested and was granted a new charter March 24, 1851, which permitted a new Board of Education with greater autonomy from the city government.[80] Among the provisions for powers of the new board was that of examination and certification of applicants for teaching posts.

During the 1850's, there was considerable discussion of the need for qualified teachers and about the possibility of establishing a department in the new Female High School for the purpose of training selected young ladies for teachers.[81] This was only one of the innovations discussed by this board. During their tenure, German language teaching was introduced into the school, science teaching was strengthened, and "object teaching" was encouraged.

Some attention had been given to the training of senior students of the Female High School for teaching from 1857 to 1871. In 1869, the principal recommended that the graduates be employed as assistants in the schools as a means of reducing expenses. After 1866, when it was found

that nine of the thirteen graduates expected to become teachers, it beame evident that a separate school for training teachers was needed.[82]

In 1870, the president of the school board, Mr. W. W. Morris, stated in his annual report:

> "The subject of a normal training school is one which, for a long time, has attracted the attention of those most interested in and familiar with the working of our school system. I have but to reiterate the wish that such an institution may soon be established and refer you to the report of the committee on normal schools in this volume."

The superintendent further outlined the need for a normal school. The idea was taken up and the City Council took action that established the Louisville Normal Training School.

The school opened in a Main Street building with Hiram Roberts as principal. The student body numbered thirty-six girls. Thirty were selected from the graduates of the city's Female High School, the remaining six girls were chosen by examination from elsewhere.[83] It was believed that the number of graduates would fill the vacancies in the city's schools for a given year. If there were no openings in Louisville schools, the preparation of the graduates would enable them to find positions in other cities.[84]

The Normal Training School was moved to a new site in 1891 and increased in size to prepare a larger number of graduates for the city schools and to permit addition of a commercial department. Still later the school was moved to a new plant on East Broadway where it functioned until 1935 when it was closed and the University of Louisville assumed the teacher education function for the Louisville city schools.

Normal Schools for "Colored" Persons

The state took nearly twenty years to establish common schools for the children of the freedmen, or "colored" citizens as they came to be known. Early laws in the 1860's and 1870's were ineffective, even unrealistic, but in 1882 efforts to provide schools on a uniform basis for both races began. Efforts to train teachers for the schools for colored children were among the early developments after the Civil War. First on the ground were personnel and program supplied by northern missionary groups who began training Negro teachers at Camp Nelson in Jessamine County. John G. Fee was associated with this modest effort and little publicity was given to it and its brief career.

Some of the teachers supported by the American Mission Union moved to Lexington in 1867 and opened schools in cooperation with an organization of Negro women which operated a center known as Ladies Hall. Out of this came a small institution for teachers, the Corral Street Normal which opened in a new building in 1869 and continued to 1890. Then it was supplanted by the Chandler Normal at 548 Georgetown Street which rendered invaluable service to 1929. Corral Street Normal (later listed as Lexington Normal Institute), and the Chandler Normal both operated an elementary school for children and offered training for students who wanted to become teachers. Support came largely from missionary organizations

and Federal government funds, supplemented by some local help. Other private training schools for colored teachers were operating in Jessamine County and in Louisville in the 1870's, still others at Cadiz, Bowling Green, Madisonville, in Bullitt County, Glasgow, and Hopkinsville during the next decade. Berea College accepted students of both races, and its normal school graduated many qualified teachers until the restrictive Day Law of the early 1900's forced abandonment of its policy; the Lincoln Institute, located near Simpsonville, was then established.

The state took action to establish a training school for colored teachers shortly after it got down to business with schools for the children. In 1886 the General Assembly enacted legislation to establish the Kentucky State Normal School for Colored Persons.[85] The school opened October 10, 1886, with the president, two teachers, and fifty-five students. Through many decades of service it has grown in terms of programs offered and in quality of performance. Changes of its name indicate something of the added functions the institution has undertaken.[86] For a time the school was designated as a land-grant institution. In 1902 it was renamed the Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute; in 1931 it became the Kentucky State College and offered a full college course in several fields. The role of its alumni includes many names of persons who have served their race and nation with great distinction and honor.

Normal School, A&M College

At long last, the General Assembly took action that resulted in the establishment of an institution for the training of teachers for the common schools, one that has continued without interruption since its opening. This step was taken by provisions enacted for the general reorganization of the Kentucky Agricultural and Mechanical College.[87] In the first acts there were provisions for free tuition to one student from each county "who has been engaged in teaching, or whose immediate object is to prepare for the profession of teaching" and which empowered the faculty "to grant certificates to teachers, students of the colleges, valid in any county in Kentucky, under the conditions and limitations prescribed by the common school law."[88] This first act was later amended and revised in the light of further study of the needs of the reorganized institution on the part of the Governor as chairman of the Board of Trustees and a joint legislative committee. As the result, in the act of April 23, 1880, provisions for a normal department to be included in the State College were made explicit. The normal department was established "to qualify teachers for common or other schools." It was further provided that those students who attained the requisite proficiency as teachers, in the opinion of the academic board, should be granted a certificate to that effect, setting forth the various branches in which they were qualified; and that such certificate should be evidence of qualification to teach in the public schools of the State in the various branches named without further examination. One student was to be selected for each representative for the full college course; four others were to be selected for each representative who would be given one year of

study in the normal department free of charge.[89] The long-awaited state school for teachers that would continue to serve its function under different titles and through various reorganizations had been brought into being as a part of the state's fledgling land-grant college.

The Normal School got under way in the fall of 1880, while the college was still operating in makeshift quarters while the buildings, on the campus donated by the City of Lexington and Fayette County, were being completed. Maurice Kirby, formerly superintendent of Henderson schools, became principal. T. C. H. Vance who had started the Kentucky Normal School at Carlisle some years earlier, occupied a joint appointment as head of the new commercial department and assistant principal of the normal department. Only a few students enrolled in the department in the fall, but a good number came in after the close of the common school term. The growth of the Normal School through its early years, though not spectacular, was steady and it became one of the most popular departments in the college.[90]

Through its early years the normal department offered a course of study extending over three years, but each year's work was complete in itself. The first year emphasized the common school branches with some attention to the theory and practice of teaching. This constituted preparation for teaching in the common schools. A second year of study included more college subjects and preparation of students for teaching higher grades; those who complete the third-year program received the diploma, evidence of qualification to teach in any school, even an academy or high school. Appropriate certificates were issued to those who finished each year's course of study, but degrees were not awarded by the Normal School until later. The same policy was followed for students in the commercial department. Students in both departments could enroll in courses of other departments of the college.

The original "course of instruction" as depicted in the first catalog to include the normal department included the following studies all required.[91]

XII. Normal Department
Course of Instruction
Professor Kirby, Principal

FIRST YEAR

English Grammar and Composition
Elementary Chemistry: Drawing
Arithmetic
Latin Grammar & Reading
French and German
Theory and Practice of Teaching
Geography—Descriptive and Political
Experimental Physics
Elementary Algebra
Outlines of History

SECOND YEAR

Rhetoric and Composition
Higher Arithmetic
History—United States
Latin—Caesar, Cicero
Theory and Practice of Teaching
Physical Geography, Botany, Drawing
Higher Algebra
Political Economy
French and German

THIRD YEAR

Elements of Criticism, Logic—Mental Philosophy
Anatomy, Physiology and Hygiene—Drawing
Geometry and Trigonometry
Latin—Cicero, Virgil French and German
Theory and Practice of Teaching

The "Course of Instruction" for the commercial department included many of the same required courses, albeit the course for a given year required about half as many subjects as that of the normal department. Doubtless many of the students took courses in both departments.

The opening of the Normal School in the State's Agricultural and Mechanical College not only helped to increase the growth of the student body but it facilitated an enlargement of the college program that involved co-education of the sexes, a policy that was considered radical in the 1880's. President Patterson claimed the credit for the new policy that permitted women students to enter the Normal School. Despite Board opposition, and backed principally by only one trustee, Patterson maintained that the law included women preparing to teach on the same basis as male students.[92] This view prevailed and 45 women entered the Normal School before its first year ended (1880-81). This precedent resulted in the policy of opening more departments to women students and soon the entire institution became co-educational.

The first woman graduate to complete a full course of study, Miss Leonora Hocing, of Lexington, received the diploma from the Normal Department in June 1884, an event jointly celebrated by the local press.[93] Local editors further used the occasion to plead for admission of women students to more departments of the College.[94]

The increased enrollment in the College brought about by the establishment of the Normal Department was not enough to stave off criticism of the institution. President Patterson felt it necessary to defend teacher training in the college as a part of higher education. At the same time it was clear that the enrollment in what the President regarded as collegiate studies had not advanced as had been expected.[95] Principals of the Normal Department were cognizant of this problem and struggled with it during those early years.

The course of study offered by the Normal Department was revised during the tenure of J. R. Potter, who succeeded Professor Kirby in 1886. Kirby's last accomplishment was to develop a list of aims for the department which was designed for a program that would produce well-rounded, scientifically prepared teachers for the State's public schools. The revised curriculum under Professor Potter's regime probably reflected these goals. A legislative committee report on the institution in 1888 found that the Normal Department was doing little for lack of pupils. The committee found that the students entered the Department, finished the short course, went out to teach, and did not return. The committee admitted that it saw no way to remedy this situation.[96]

The Board of Trustees took action to change the situation by advising

the principal, Professor Potter, that his services were no longer needed. This was followed by the appointment of a new head, Alex L. Peterman, a graduate of the National Normal University, who had conducted a normal school at Glasgow. The new principal was expected to infuse new life into the Normal School and to brighten the future of the whole institution.[97]

Under the leadership of Professor Peterman, and with the assistance of Professor J. W. Newman who taught "Theory and Practice of Teaching," the curriculum of the Department was again revised. The new plan provided for a one-year course for students to review the common school branches and qualify for teaching in the elementary schools. The Department also offered a four-year course which was designed to provide "a thorough preparation for higher professional work as teachers." The new four-year course was deemed to be of collegiate grade and the Department requested that a degree be authorized for those students who completed all requirements. Figures for the college year 1889-1890, including the summer Normal reached 155, 87 females and 68 males, representing 49 counties. Most of them were of limited means, but were among the brightest and most energetic young people from their communities.

Implementation of the new degree program came under the leadership of the principal who was to be associated with the Department longer and to provide its strongest leadership: Ruric Neville Roark's place in the annals of teacher education was earned by meritorious performance. Peterman left the Department in January 1890 to continue his career in the State Senate. His successor was another able graduate from Mr. Holbrook's institution who had also headed a private normal school in the state and was well-acquainted with Kentucky educators and familiar with its schools and problems. Professor Roark was, by all accounts, a well-educated, personable, dignified, professional man, thoroughly dedicated to the tasks of the department and capable of enlisting support for the teacher preparation program in the State College. In the years ahead, his zealous efforts in this direction were to lead to growing irritation on the part of President Patterson who expected to serve as the spokesman for the entire college and its various departments.

The new principal served in an acting capacity until September 1890, but made a good showing from the very start. His first report showed a gain of 34 matriculates over the comparable total for 1889-90, and a summer enrollment of 56 in addition to the 154 during the college year. It was further noted that the matriculation for the January 1892 date was up 50 percent over that of the past year.[98]

Those who completed the "Professional Course" (one of two courses offered), received the degree of Ped.B., (Bachelor of Pedagogy) as evidence of their professional spirit and general education. Successful completion of this course was expected to equip teachers for teaching any grade or public school.

The plan of the department as explained in the annual registers of the college was based on three important qualifications teachers should have in addition to an upright and sterling character and a healthy body. These

were (1) an adequate knowledge of what the teacher proposes to teach; (2) skill in teaching—knowledge of how to teach; and (3) some broad and liberal culture, wherewith to illuminate one's work and increase its value. Accordingly, the Department gave the requisite academic work in the common branches for both experienced teachers and novices, by courses over 10-weeks and 5-months periods. Moreover, the methods of instruction in these courses were designed to familiarize would-be teachers with the latest and best methods of teaching. The Department held to the view that: "The student will teach as he is taught rather than as he is taught to teach."

In the words of the Department, it was believed that the "skill in teaching—the knowledge how to teach" could best be acquired by successful practice. There was both a science and an art to teaching. Teaching should not be wholly empirical. There were fundamental principles upon which all true teaching rests; it was upon their successful and practical application that the profession of teaching was based. It was the direct indication of these principles and drill in their application that distinguished the Teachers' Training School from all other schools.

Since the principles of the science of education rested upon the activities and processes of the growing mind, the school gave special attention to educational psychology. This course was followed by thorough drill in school management and the most rational and effective educational methods. The final course of this sequence was devoted to the history of the profession of teaching abroad and at home.

The Department advocated further study by the prospective teacher in what was termed "Some Broad and Liberal Culture." It was thought that teachers who had acquired only the first two qualifications for teaching were not yet fitted for the profession. Teachers should know as much more as possible; should have some knowledge of subjects higher than those they will teach, and different from those they would be expected to teach. Human knowledge was seen to be interrelated and teachers needed to be able to draw upon wide areas of knowledge in order to make illustrations and to show clearly even the simplest and commonest of facts. All this was comprehended in the plan of the Department of Pedagogy as it entered upon a new era of its work in the "Gay Nineties."[99]

From this period it becomes clear that the State College endeavored to provide two programs for the preparation of teachers. The Normal School continued for a time to offer the one-year course for candidates with little or no experience and who were not prepared for admission to the collegiate department. The Department of Pedagogy, as it came to be called, tended to move in the direction of providing teacher preparation on a level more nearly comparable with other departments of the college. In 1893, the requirements for its degree, Ped.B. were raised to the full four years of work in response to a strong demand for advanced instruction for teachers.[100] This plan continued until 1906 when the Department of Pedagogy reorganized its courses of study to offer two degrees, the Bachelor of Arts in Pedagogy and the Bachelor of Science in Pedagogy. All of these

programs of studies necessitated that the students take all save the professional courses in the academic departments of the college. There were no pedagogical courses at all in the freshman and sophomore years. A course in educational psychology was required in the junior year. Other professional courses in normal methods, school management, and history of education were taken before graduation.

The year 1906 marks a significant milestone in the progress of teacher training in the Commonwealth. The General Assembly found itself on the receiving end of a most determined movement to have state normal schools established. The legislators had seen movements come and go, but this time the organization had been well-planned and support had been elicited from groups that could not be ignored. The result was that not one, but two, new state normal schools were established, one at Richmond and another at Bowling Green.[101] Friends of the State College who were concerned that the normal school and department of pedagogy would be left to decline were somewhat mollified by another act that restored all the former privileges of the institution to grant diplomas that would entitle the holder to teach in any school in the state for life unless he should cease to teach for five years. It further authorized the Board to issue certificates to teachers who completed the appropriate courses of study which would be the equivalent of the state diploma and to a state certificate valid for two years. This act of March 21, 1906, also provided that teachers holding certificates to teach in public schools of the Commonwealth who would attend a four-week summer term of the Normal Department of the A&M College should be excused from attendance at any teachers' institute during that school year.[102]

Those who may have felt that the new normal schools act represented a rebuff to the State College had to admit that the enrollment of the Normal School and the Department of Pedagogy had provided no more than a minor fraction of the supply of qualified teachers that the schools of the Commonwealth required. It was no secret that President Patterson had merely tolerated the Normal School, that he had never considered its faculty or studnts as *bona fide* members of the College, but he did include the enrollments in his reports to the State Department of Education and to the legislature to support the requests for appropriations.

The attitude of the President was well known among the "school people" of the Commonwealth and was one conditioning factor that enabled the "Normal School Crowd" to mount support for their move in 1906. The growing estrangement between the president and Professor Roark was no small factor in the events that lead the success of the Normal School movement.[103] Professor Roark, Dean of the Normal School at the State College, was an active supporter of the common school system, traveled and spoke to educational meetings, served as a popular instructor for numerous teachers' institutes, worked closely with the State Teachers' Association and had a wide personal acquaintance with people over the Commonwealth. He made strenuous efforts to recruit students for the Normal School at which he was singularly successful. In 1898 the crop

of prospective students who decided to come from the counties because of the free room, fuel, and light offered created a serious crisis for the College. Professor Roark advised the board of the impending housing shortage which was passed on to the president for solution. Various incidents added to the strained relationship between the president and his Normal School dean. A showdown occurred in 1904 when Roark was charged with acting on his own initiative to lobby in the legislature for a larger appropriation for his own department. This led to a resolution from the Board of Trustees in its next meeting which expressed "regret and displeasure" at these actions of Dean Roark, declared it to be "an officious interference in matters outside his own province," accused him of "a want of delicacy and lack of the proper sense of propriety," stated that he had shown "a spirit of insubordination and disloyalty wholly incompatible with the duties of a professor," and rebuked and condemned his action adding that they believed it resulted in practical failure of some important legislation needed by State College. The Board did permit Roark to appear in his own defense but then adopted the resolution of censure by an 8 to 2 vote.[104]

The stinging rebuke to Professor Roark led to sharp reprisals by what President Patterson called the "Normal School Men." These leaders were instrumental in the work of the State Teachers' Association which passed resolutions criticizing the College for its inadequate support of the Normal School. These were other expressions, but President Patterson believed that he had personally headed off critical statements by certain county groups. The Board created a special committee to study the situation and prepare to forestall any action that might prove adverse to the State College in the next session of the General Assembly. Professor Roark denied rumors that he planned to present his case to the legislature, but this did not mollify the irrate president. At the May meeting of the board, Patterson warned that the State Teachers' Association "inspired by hostility within our own organization and by disaffected persons within were organizing an effort to take the Normal Department from the College and establish it as an independent institution." The next day Professor Roark offered his resignation which was immediately accepted.[105]

The next head of the Normal Department was Milford White, who had been Roark's assistant. He too was an experienced school man from out in the state, having served as superintendent at Williamsburg. His faculty included James Thomas Colton Noe and Joseph Evans Warren. There was some uncertainty for a time as to the future of the Department in view of the "Normal School Movement" and the enactment of the Normal Schools Act by the 1906 General Assembly.

Some observers believed that Professor Roark joined with President Cherry of the old Southern Normal School at Bowling Green and others in the campaign to establish independent normal schools in Kentucky. A bill was prepared to provide for two normal schools that would offer only two years of college work, but would abolish the Normal Department at the State College and substitute a "College" that would offer no sub-

freshman work. The representative from Bell County, a State College alumnus, came to President Patterson and asked what attitude he should take toward this normal school bill. The president's reply was, "An attitude of benevolent neutrality, sir."[106]

There was criticism of the practice of granting certificates for very little college work and the State College authorities had difficulty in making defense of this charge.[107] President Patterson had longed for the time when the collegiate departments would greatly outnumber the enrollments in the sub-freshman programs of the Academy and Normal School. These facts made it possible for him to accept the establishment of the new normal schools especially after he was assured that many graduates of these institutions would seek admission to the State College at the third year level. While the bill was pending, President Cherry told Patterson that if the Southern Normal School at Bowling Green were made a state normal offering two years of college work that they would send 200 students a year to the junior class at State College. The first year there were only two students from Bowling Green. When their matriculation was reported to President Patterson his reaction was, "Is that the vanguard of the two hundred that are coming?"[108]

The Normal School continued its operation after the departure of Professor Roark and the president expressed his view that the Department fared even better.[109] An act of March 21, 1906, that authorized the issuance of diplomas that entitled the graduate to teach for life in any Kentucky school, was a great morale builder. Another great advance for the department was the completion of a building (Frazee Hall) which provided adequate new facilities for its work.

Perhaps the most significant development of this period of Dean Milford White's leadership was the reorganization of the Department. Two distinct but closely-related sub-departments were organized: The Normal School, designed to offer work to prepare teachers for the elementary school; and the College course in Pedagogy for preparation of personnel for secondary schools and colleges. The authorities saw this arrangement as having a distinct advantage. The Normal School brought it into close and sympathetic touch with the names of the teachers out in the state; the College course should give it vital contact with the more advanced teachers and the higher schools. They believed that many students who would enter the Normal School would be challenged by the college work which they observed and elect to pursue a college program which was beyond their original plan. The report of the Department of Pedagogy for 1906-1907 stressed this potential contribution of the program.

The course in pedagogy for secondary school teachers required the usual amount of work in science, languages, history and mathematics, and the following specialized courses: psychology (2nd year), general pedagogy (2nd year), methodology (2nd year), and History of Education (3rd year).[110] The students were required to complete a planned program of reading in professional books. It was planned to organize a "Model School" in conjunction with new college quarters which would facilitate observation

by the students, although the city schools would continue to be used for this purpose. Finally, the senior candidates for a bachelor's degree in pedagogy would each submit a thesis written upon a subject assigned by the dean.

The Normal School listed a faculty of five, including the Dean and Professor Noe who also comprised the Department of Pedagogy. The courses of study offered in The Normal School corresponded to the three classes of certificates named in the School Law.

The State Diploma Course comprised the Common School branches and in addition higher arithmetic, algebra, plane geometry, elementary physics, elementary psychology. A professional course, "general pedagogy theory and practice," was a special feature for each term of the college year. Observation was required of all students. The State Diploma issued to students upon completing this course was a life certificate to teach in any public school in Kentucky.

The State Certificate Course comprised, besides the Common School branches, the advanced courses in higher arithmetic, algebra, English and American literature, and psychology. General Pedagogy and observation were also required. The State Certificates issued to successful students in this course were valid for two years in all counties of the state.

The County Certificate Course was made up of the Common School branches in which applicants for county teachers' certificates would be examined, plus general pedagogy and observation. It was intended that this work be thorough and taught by methods which could be used by the students when they began teaching.

The opportunity for students to enroll for other courses such as domestic science, freehand drawing, and nature study was noted as an advantage. Plans for additional courses of study for those who would prepare for service as county superintendents, county examiners, and the like were expected to be completed and such programs offered in the 1907-1908 session.

Students in the Normal School had their share of activities despite their status as sub-freshmen in the State College. This lack of prestige they shared with the Academy students who were under the watchcare of the president's youngest brother, known by the nickname of "She-Pat." The non-college crowd greatly outnumbered those who were enrolled in courses leading to degrees and their student activities were separate except in instances when individuals could add strength to the football squad and the like. Professor Roark organized a literary society among the Normal students, appropriately named for Horace Mann, and encouraged them to participate in the usual forms of organized activity.

According to a student correspondent who sent news to a county paper in the Big Sandy area, that area had been getting its share of the benefits of the Normal School for the past 8 to 10 years. It was thought that the influence of the school was improving the standards of teachers over the state.[11]

In 1923 the College of Education of the University of Kentucky (pre-

viously 'State College and "A&M College") was established and a new chapter in the story of teacher education in the Commonwealth began.

SOURCES

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2. *Kentucky Gazette*, January 8, 1819.
3. *Louisville Public Advertiser*, June 10, 1829.
4. *Louisville Public Advertiser*, August 12, 1829.
5. *Kentucky Gazette*, February 2, 1813.
6. *Louisville Correspondent*, November 6, 1815; *Ibid.*, December 26, 1829.
7. Benjamin Orr Peers, *Prospectus of the Eclectic Institute*, Lexington, 1830, pp. 5-8.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-11.
9. *Louisville Public Advertiser*, August 24, 1825; also December 24, 1829.
10. *Senate Journal*, 1828-1829, p. 18.
11. *Louisville Daily Journal*, August 11, 1842.
12. *Ibid.*, August 26, 1842, see p. 2 for discussion.
13. *Ibid.*, September 22, 1842, see p. 2 for text of proposed bill.
14. *Louisville Daily Journal*, October 27, 1842.
15. *Louisville Daily Journal*, December 21-29, 1842.
16. *Louisville Daily Journal*, January 7, 1843, see p. 2 for editorial "The Academy System."
17. *Legislative Documents*, 1842-1843, p. 257.
18. *Louisville Daily Journal*, February 6, 1843.
19. *Louisville Daily Journal*, February 15, 1843.
20. *Legislative Documents*, 1842-43, p. 244.
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22. *Louisville Daily Journal*, August 25, 1843.
23. *Louisville Daily Journal*, August 28, 1843.
24. *Ibid.*, September 12, 1843.
25. *Legislative Documents*, 1843, p. 427.
26. *Louisville Daily Journal*, September 27, 1845.
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29. Eugene Field Gabbard, *The History of Education in Owsley County*, M.A. Thesis, University of Kentucky, 1939, p. 44. The experience reported was recalled by Mrs. Joseph Moore (b. 1850), then 89 years of age, in a personal interview.
30. By 1900 several books providing questions and answers designed to help teachers prepare for examinations were available. Among them were: I. H. Brown (ed.) *Common School Question Book and Review*; Asa H. Craig, *Common School Questions with Answers*; Isaac Stone, *Teachers' Complete Examiner*. In 1907, J. W. Lusby, a successful teacher of candidates for the county teachers' examinations, brought out his *The County Examiner*, printed at Grayson Kentucky.
31. *A Roster of the Alumni and Alumnae of the National Normal University*, Lebanon, Ohio, published by the Alumni Association, 1893.
32. *Acts*, General Assembly, 1870, Chapter 282, pp. 241-242.
33. *Acts*, Kentucky General Assembly, 1874, Chapter 318, pp. 382-383.
34. Report of The Superintendent of Public Instruction, for the School Years 1886 and 1887, Frankfort, Ky., Capitol Office, John D. Woods, Public Printer and Binder, 1888. See pp. 60-61, 99, 122.

35. *Ibid.*, See pp. 86, 121-122, 134, 138.
36. *Acts*, Kentucky General Assembly, 1887-88, Vol. I, Chapter 1238, pp. 95-96.
37. *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, Louisville, Kentucky, Geo. G. Fetter Company, 1905, pp. 229-230.
38. *The Louisville Daily Journal*, March 5, 1842.
39. *Ibid.*, April 25, 1842.
40. *Ibid.*, January 5, 1843.
41. *Ibid.*, April 10, 1843.
42. Porter H. Hopkins, *KEA, The First Hundred Years*, Louisville, Ky., Kentucky Education Association, 1957, pp. 62-63.
43. *The Public School*, I, No. 1, (July 1896).
44. *The Public School*, September 1896, p. 22.
45. *Southern School Journal*, XIII, No. 12, (December 1902), pp. 3 and 7.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
48. *Southern School Journal* XIV, No. 7, (July 1903), pp. 18-22. Note that the suggested answer to the first question might be found in an article published in the *Journal* for December 1902.
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50. *Southern School Journal*, XV, No. 3, (March 1904), pp. 12-13.
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53. *Initial Report of H. A. M. Henderson, Superintendent of Public Instruction*, Frankfort, Ky. Printed at the Kentucky Yeoman Office, S. I. M. Major, Public Printer, 1870.
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55. The principal lecturers for the institutes in 1873 were J. Stoddard Johnston, James B. McCreary, W. C. P. Breckenridge, and D. S. Lyttell.
56. *Transactions of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers*, held in Cincinnati, October 1838. Cincinnati; published by James R. Allbach, 1839, pp. 12-13.
57. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.
58. *House Journal*, 1835, Frankfort, Ky., Albert G. Hodges, State Printer, 1835. See pp. 20, 29, 31, 145, 203, 233, 276, 308 and 309-312 for references to education and the bill.
59. *House Journal*, 1838-39, Appendix, p. 228.
60. *Louisville Daily Journal*, January 19, 1839.
61. *House Journal*, 1839-40, p. 23. See also, *Louisville Daily Journal*, December 5, 1839.
62. *Louisville Daily Journal*, December 6, 1839, and December 13, 1839.
63. This subject is so well documented by the Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction that footnotes for the complete list of statements would require most of the page. Some of the earlier reports are also printed in the volumes entitled *Legislative Documents*.
64. *Senate Journal*, 1850, pp. 169, 709-710. See also *Louisville Daily Journal*, December 18, 1850; or the *Frankfort Daily Commonwealth*, December 15, 1850.
65. *Legislative Documents*, 1850, pp. 621-622.
66. *Kentucky Statesman*, January 27, 1854. See editorial "A Normal School," noting that both former and present Superintendents of Public Instruction strongly support plan for a normal school at Transylvania University and the full support of the *Statesman*. An excellent argument for the plan.
67. *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1855, pp. 1-13.
68. *Senate Journal*, 1855-56, p. 12.

69. *Acts*, General Assembly, 1856, p. 180.
70. *Acts*, General Assembly, 1858, p. 54. See also, Robert Peter, *Thoughts on Public Education in Kentucky*, with special reference to Normal Schools, the State Agricultural and Mechanical College and the Trusts of Transylvania University, Frankfort, Ky. Printed at the Kentucky Yeoman Office; Major, Johnson & Barrett, 1877, pp. 3-5.
71. See Porter H. Hopkins, *KEA, The First Hundred Years*, Louisville, Ky., Kentucky Education Association, 1957, pp. 21, 23-24, for a brief account.
72. Many references could be cited. See, for example, Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.
73. *Senate Journal*, 1863-1864. See pp. 108, 110, 137, 178, 190, 204, 220, 248, 267, 270 for course of Senate bill; for the course of the House Bill amended by Senate see pp. 287, 300, 384, 385-386, 429.
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76. *Legislative Documents*, Legislative Document No. 9, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, for school year ending December 31, 1863, Frankfort, Ky. Printed at the Commonwealth Office, 1964, pp. 23-24.
77. *Acts*, General Assembly, 1877-78, Chapter 948, pp. 125-126.
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79. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
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82. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.
83. J. Stoddard Johnston (ed.), *Memorial History of Louisville*, from its First Settlement to the Year 1896, Vol. I, Chicago and New York, American Biographical Publishing Company, H. C. Cooper, Jr. and Company, Proprietors, 1896, pp. 239-240.
84. Superintendent of Public Instruction H. A. M. Henderson commented on this point in the *Report* for 1874, see p. 35.
85. *Acts*, General Assembly, 1885-86, I, Chapter 1297, pp. 232-235.
86. Moses Edward Ligon, *A History of Public Education in Kentucky*, Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky, 14:4 (June 1942), pp. 256-259.
87. *Acts*, General Assembly, 1879-1880, I, chapter 348, pp. 37-42; chapter 1094, pp. 101-104; chapter 315, pp. 137-138.
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89. James F. Hopkins, *University of Kentucky, Origins and Early Years*, Lexington, Kentucky, University of Kentucky Press, 1951. See pp. 129-131 for a good account of the establishment of the Normal Department of the new State College.
90. Annual Report of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Kentucky, 1879-80, with Announcements for the Session of 1880-81, Lexington, Kentucky, Frankfort, Ky.: Printed at the Kentucky Yeoman Office, E. H. Porter, Public Pinter, 1880, p. 23.
91. James F. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 130.
92. *The Lexington Daily Press*, June 3 and 5, 1884, Published "Falcon's" poem to the "maiden ripe and roseate and fair" in honor of the occasion.
93. James F. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 197.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 209.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 210. The original statement may be found in *Senate Journal*, 1887-1888, p. 1656.

96. *Lexington Press*, January 23, 1889.
97. Report to President J. K. Patterson by Alex L. Peterman per J. W. Newman, included in report by Professor R. Ruric N. Roark and published in the "Report of Pesident Patterson, Embracing Special Reports of Professors Peterman and Roark, in charge of the Normal Department in *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction* for the Four-Scholastic Years Ending June 30, 1891, Frankfort, Kentucky, Capital Office, E. Polk Johnson, State Printer and Binder, 1892, pp. 224-225.
98. *Ibid.*, pp. 225-226.
99. *Ibid.*, pp. 228-229.
100. Report of Professor Milford White, Dean of the Normal Department, to President James K. Patterson, October 19, 1905, included in the *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1903-1905, p. 146.
101. *Acts*, General Assembly, 1906, chapter 102, p. 393.
102. *Acts*, General Assembly, 1906, chapter 92, pp. 374-375.
103. James F. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 211-215 provides the best account of this disagreement.
104. James F. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 214.
105. James F. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 214.
106. Ezra L. Gillis Papers, University of Kentucky Archives, Memorandum, "James K. Patterson's part in the Establishment of Teachers' Colleges," dated August 24, 1940.
107. *Ibid.*, p. 2. Professor Gillis who served many yeas as the Registrar of the University stated that there was much truth in the charges.
108. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
109. There were of course many whose interpretation of the whole controversy between President Patterson and Professor Roark would sound quite different. One observer reported that Roark was only one of five or more able men who were "run off" by the President in that same period. Notes from an interview with Professor Emeritus Thompson R. Bryant, February 18, 1974.
110. See Report of "Department of Pedagogy" and "The Normal School" included in *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1905-1907, pp. 223-225, 248-249.
111. *Big Sandy News*, May 12, 1893.